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WE ACCUSE

(from the record)

by

JERRY KING RALPH EMERSON
FRED RENAUD LAWRENCE McRYN

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INTRODUCTION

THIS document, dedicated to those American seamen, who are Americans in thought as well as in deed, is intended as a warning of the dangers that lie ahead. Certain officials and members of the National Maritime Union of America are members and tools of the Communist Party USA and thereby agents of the Soviet Government. Based strictly on the concept of totalitarianism—that the end justifies the means—the Communists in all countries adhere strictly to that creed.

Lying, stealing, assaults, murders and espionage are only part of the instruments used daily by the Communists to accomplish their purposes.

Marine being one of the strategic industries of the world, the Party has spared neither effort nor expense to capture that industry in each country where the Communist Party has succeeded in attaching itself like a cancerous growth to the particular country's social and economic system.

The American merchant marine has not been exempt from the "attentions" of the Communists. A small group of seamen, knowing the aims and purposes of the Party boded no good for them, have fought consistently against the efforts of the Communists to capture the seamen and their unions. Knowing the allegiance of the communist is pledged completely to the Soviet through its American Section (CP-USA) these seamen struggled to prevent the Communists from subverting the interests of the union to those of the Communist Party. These men, opposed to the Party were driven from the union and in some cases, the industry and were skillfully "smeared" by the comrades.

We have waited to answer the charges made against us by Curran and the Communists until such time as we were able to compile an assembly of facts *from the record*. Each statement made hereafter, *is backed by the record*.

In anticipation of the forthcoming "blasts" by the Pilot, Daily Worker and packed meetings, we state—that you must not allow the Communists to trick you again into looking at only one side of the picture. Your common sense tells you that every picture has more than one side. *Examine the facts and the record yourselves.*

In conclusion, we wish to thank those seamen whose loyalty and generosity made it possible for us to tell the facts to their brother seamen in this manner. This is written specifically for them in their own language about matters *that concern them* the most. Herein we accuse Curran and the Communist Party of using the seamen and the National Maritime Union of America to further the purposes of the Communist Parties. *The record speaks for itself.*

The following is only a small part of the record in our possession. We have been necessarily limited in this presentation due to production costs which our financial condition would not permit us to assume.

JERRY KING
RALPH EMERSON
FRED RENAUD
LAWRENCE McRYN

*A Factual History
of the Seamen's
Labor Movement*

I THE PARTY WEASELS IN

THE Communist Party has been seeking for years to gain control of the American Merchant Marine. To this end they have devoted much time, money and endless intrigue. Ben Gitlow, who was for ten years general secretary of the CP USA and who ran on the CP ticket for the office of vice-president of the United States, said in a serialized edition of his book—"I Confess":

"Moscow considered it essential to Soviet military preparedness to gain control of the seamen in the merchant marines of the capitalist countries. Today the Soviet government dominates the most strategic industry of the country through the National Maritime Union of America which has jurisdiction over the ocean-going, coast-wise and lake shipping. This union is completely controlled by the Communist Party. Communist Party funds were advanced for its Madison Square Garden reception for Harry Bridges on the sixteenth of December, 1936. The Communist Party also established a Marine school to train Red seamen and to prepare leaders for the waterfront. This school was situated in 1937 in Communist Camp Nitgedaiget near Beacon, New York.

"It took years of sinister machinations and the closest co-operation with the GPU (now the NKVD) to make the Communist Party master on the waterfront. The work begun by George Mink, GPU agent was at first supervised by William Z. Foster and Harrison George, Browder's brother-in-law. Later Mink proceeded to Cuba, the West and various Central and South American ports to extend the Soviet network there, leaving Roy Hudson in complete charge of the operations in the United States.

"Stalinists brook no opposition to the Communist control of the National Maritime Union and resort to his methods to retain power. Only recently, on September 17, 1939, a mysterious murder occurred in New Orleans. The victim was Phillip Carey, a communist member of the union's Gulf District Executive Board. Some weeks before Carey's violent death, the entire board had been removed from office because of opposition to Communist interference. It was common talk on the New Orleans waterfront that Phil Carey was murdered because he was giving away Communist secrets."

Coming from the man who was a chief of the Communist Party in the United States, these words are of exceeding interest to every American seaman.

Many others have in the past made statements, charges and allegations concerning Communist activities among the seamen on the Atlantic Coast. Always, the Stalinists in control of the National Maritime Union have denied these statements hotly, heaping vitriolic invectives upon the heads of those making such accusations.

However, Curran, the president of the National Maritime Union, stated flatly on more than one occasion that the Communist Party *was* in control of the union! In the following document, confidential letters written by Curran to the man whom he later doublecrossed, reveal that it is true, as has often been charged: *The Communist Party is running the National Maritime Union of America!* That Curran knowingly lies when he states that he does not know that the Stalinists are in control of the Union! The statements made hereafter are backed by authentic documentary proof. We make certain specific accusations against Curran and other Stalinists in the National Maritime Union and we invite them or the Communist Party to challenge these statements in any court that they may choose to.

We have watched the Communist movement for many years in several countries as well as the United States and wherever they have been successful in "boring from within" we have noted that they always left a trail of wreckage and misery

behind to mark their passage. A small group of American seamen, knowing that Communist domination of them meant their eventual ruin, have fought the Stalinists consistently.

The Party retaliated with their usual weapons of packed membership meetings, character assassinations, framed charges, and scurrilous lies printed in the Pilot and its parent gutter rag, the Daily Worker. Finally these men were defeated as they inevitably must have been, since they were fighting against a vast machine, whose finances and resources were unlimited and they were driven from the union.

The Stalinists, since gaining complete control of the union with the assistance of their stooge, Joe Curran, emphatically demonstrate they will establish a dictatorship over the seamen closely rivaling that other dictatorship—the Communist Party. He who dares disobey the rules promulgated by the Top Marine Fraction of the Communist Party will pay through the nose for his temerity.

Several years ago in Soviet Union ports, in Europe's chief ports, in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, Houston, San Francisco, Oakland, San Pedro and Seattle, International Seamen's Clubs, affiliated with the Transport Workers' International Propaganda and Action Committee of the Red International of Labor Unions were established. These clubs were provided with "social and educational facilities, game-rooms, libraries, reading rooms, meeting halls, open forums, etc.," for all marine workers and primarily dedicated to the spreading of "organization" and of "international" working class solidarity among the seamen. "Foreign ships were visited and foreign seamen welcomed and brought in contact with their fellow workers of different nationalities."

Seamen in America were told, "that the clubs in the Soviet ports were magnificent institutions where the seamen were 'masters.' Moving picture auditoriums, reading rooms for different languages, lodgings, every imaginable facility was provided." In *those* ports, the foreign seamen got a foretaste of what it meant for the worker to be in power, in a manner that he never would forget."

In 1928, the Trade Union Unity League organized the seamen, recruited through the International Seamen's Clubs* in the port of New York, into the Marine Workers' League. This new organization then issued a monthly newspaper, called the Marine Workers' Voice. Conferences were held in 1929, taking place on the Atlantic in August, the Pacific in November and the Gulf in January, 1930. Organizing Committees were "elected" at these conferences and instructed to spread out

*Oldtimers will recall the club in New York which was situated around the corner from the Seamen's Church Institute at 26 South St. It was a dirty room upstairs where seamen could buy a greasy meal slightly cheaper than in the neighborhood "joints." The sugar, knives, forks and spoons, in tin cans and the plain board tables gave the place that certain "proletarian" atmosphere. Meetings were also held in the building.

These "Clubs" or stewpots as they were more commonly called, were first introduced to the American waterfronts around 1926 by the Communist Party. Later, in 1929, to the best of our recollection, the Comrades moved their International Seamen's Club or stewport to 140 Broad Street. This club is not to be confused with the stewpot that was run by the Marine Workers' Solidarity League, which later became the Marine Workers' Unity Council. In September, 1930, sixteen members of the MWIU, who were also members of the Party, were expelled for "counter-revolutionary" activities and other assorted "crimes" whereupon these men organized that League which later became the aforementioned Council.

This Council obtained approximately 450 dues paying members and besides agitating for relief as one phase of their organizational activities, they also conducted a "stewpot." Around August, the first, 1931, the members of the Unity Council voted to join the Marine Transport Workers Union 510 of the IWW and to turn over all funds and property to that organization. This was done.

through the ports with an organizational drive. These committees were arrested often and their headquarters were raided by the police in the ports.

In 1930, a National Convention was held (April, 26-27) and the Marine Workers' League became the Marine Workers' Industrial Union (MWIU). The Convention then adopted a constitution and program of organization covering seamen, harbor workers, longshoremen and various affiliated crafts of marine workers.

Their adopted program stated:

"The MWIU is affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, which established and led the Marine Workers' League, out of which the Union grew. The TUUL is the guiding force of the Marine Workers' Union. It is the center of the revolutionary trade unions of the US—the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. Through the TUUL the struggles of the marine workers will be coördinated with those of the workers in other industries. The TUUL stands for militant industrial unionism, for solidly organized and thoroughly prepared mass struggles, for control of strikes by committees elected by the rank and file, for democratically-elected centralized leadership, and for participation in political struggles.

"The MWIU must organize not only nationally but internationally. The MWIU is affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions which embraces 16,000,000 workers organized in unions. Through the RILU, the MWIU is linked up with the millions of revolutionary workers, not only in Europe but in China, Indonesia, Australia and Latin-America. At the same time, the MWIU in common with the Red Marine unions of other countries, is requesting the Red International of Labor Unions to establish an International Maritime Workers' Federation in order to provide a closer linkage between the Revolutionary marine workers of all countries."

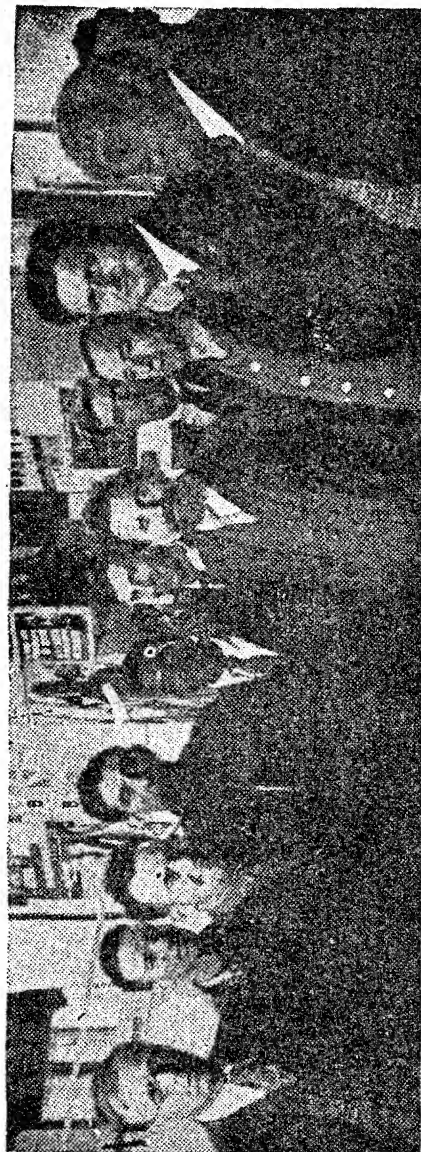
In line with this program the MWIU continued to maintain the International Seamen's Clubs in the United States and the same was done in other countries by the affiliates of the RILU.

That convention which was attended by 118 delegates also elected three delegates to the Fifth World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions, where they requested the RILU to establish the "Red International Federation or Union of Marine Workers." Among the delegates that attended the Fifth World Congress from the MWIU were Comrades Tommy Ray, George Mink and La Rocca. Ray, who is probably the only one familiar to some NMU members, is easily recognizable in the photograph. At the MWIU convention, a National Committee of 41 was "elected" as the "supreme power" in the union and the birth of a new "democratic" union was announced to the marine world.

Following the Fifth World Congress, the Profintern, which is the International Trade Union Center of the Communist International, set up the "International of Seamen' and Harborworkers" (ISH). The ISH sought, wherever possible, to secure direct affiliation of the National Unions of Maritime workers with direct representation on the "International Executive Committee." Where affiliation was impossible to secure, the minority or opposition group within any National Union was allotted representation. Affiliation was also granted to revolutionary or independent dual or opposition unions. Propaganda specified that the ISH was the maritime center of the "Third International."

The conservative unions of the type of the English National Union of Seamen,

Transport Worker Delegates at the Red International Congress



Third from the left, George Mink, and next to the right, Tom Ray, both from the Marine Workers' Industrial Union, U. S. A. To the right of Ray is Cooper, Negro railroad worker, U. S. A. Right of Cooper is an English delegate and almost in front of him (the man with the beard) is Losovsky, secretary of the R. I. L. U. At the extreme right is A. Walter, of the German marine workers' movement.

All these seamen and longshoremen delegates took part in organizing the provisional committee to call a marine workers' conference in Hamburg in the near future to form an International of Seamen and Dock Workers.

709-REV

MWIU delegates Ray and Mink attending fifth world's congress in Hamburg. (ISH was set up)

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the Scandinavian unions (with the exception of the Danish Firemen's Union) and the American AFofL Maritime unions were affiliated to the "International Transport Federation." The maritime and transport center of the "Second International" (Socialist), and the Anarchist types of unions such as the now illegal "Confederation National de Trabajadores" (CNT) of Spain, the IWW of America and the Scandinavian countries, and the Chilean Seamen's Union are referred to as being under the direction of the outgrowth of the "First (Workingman's) International."

The ISH furnished subsidies to non self-supporting "independent Unions," opposition movements, "rank and file" groups and even National unions subscribing to their revolutionary trade union policy. The Marine Workers Industrial Union, later the ISU "rank and file" group and at the present time, the Communist National marine fraction, received an International subsidy. The present amount is not known but until the formation of the National Maritime Union, the amount was approximately \$400 a month, *with special funds* being sent to increase this to an average of \$1,000 a month.

From 1930 to 1932 this money was dispatched to George Mink. From 1932 to 1935 to Commissar Roy B. Hudson and since that time to the Central Committee of the Communist Party (USA) where it was passed on to the "top" marine fraction of Roy B. Hudson. Tommy Ray and Al Lannon through Jack Stachel (Benson). Regardless of his true name, the Communist handling ready cash for the Central Committee was always named "Benson, and Weiner." In America the work of the ISH, at present, is carried on via the activities of the "National Marine Fraction" (CP). [Their latest setup is called the "Brotherhood of the Sea" (Pan-American Maritime Federation) and was "set-up" recently after a conference in Havana, Cuba where comrade Eddie Gordon ostensibly has charge of this work].

Weekly bulletins were issued by the ISH in twenty different languages, each consisting of an average of twenty-four mimeographed pages. These always obtained wide distribution. The "National contacts" were furnished with unlimited supplies of these in the languages under their sphere of influence and direction. In addition, "speakers' outlines" were dispatched covering all international events of political importance. Summaries of strikes were also sent.

Included in the bulletins was a code *available only* to the National maritime "responsibles" giving the names of special ships to be contacted. Pamphlets and various propaganda material for free distribution aboard foreign flagships was also sent. American representatives on the International Executive Committee of the ISH were officially listed as: Roy B. Hudson; George Mink; Morris Wickman (replaced by Al Lannon); Harry (Hynes) Hall (replaced by David "Red" Drummond); and Tommy Ray.

Morris Wickman and Harry Hynes (formerly editor of the Pilot) were killed in Spain while serving in the International Brigade and Al Lannon and David "Red" Drummond were selected to replace them unofficially.

Prior to Hitler's ascendancy to power, headquarters of the ISH were maintained at No. 8 Rothesood Strasse, Hamburg, with a German named Albert Walter as International Secretary and Profintern representative. (See Photo on page 8) It developed later that A. Walter was a Gestapo agent and all records up to that

time were seized by the German Government. Two Americans, Ben Kohne and Marcel La Roque, acting as American delegates in Hamburg, were arrested and imprisoned for a short time, but subsequently released. La Roque is now in America working as a sign painter and active in representing the illegalized German Seamen's Union. Kohne (or Kohen) was killed in Spain.

Another former American delegate in Hamburg was Morris Appelman who is in America and now a more or less prominent novelist and pseudo Far East "political expert," with the pen name of "Mike Pell."

Until the present war in Europe the ISH maintained headquarters for a time on Rue Lafayette in Paris with intermediary headquarters in Antwerp, London and Copenhagen. The International Secretary was one, Andre, who had escaped from a German concentration camp. The emblem of the ISH was quite a common sight a few short years ago and should be easily recalled by men who were going to sea in the "twenties."

The MWIU then functioning as a unit of the TUUL began its campaign to Sovietize the Marine Workers. An explanation of the TUUL is necessary. In 1919, a group of comrades broke away from the Socialist Party following the Chicago convention of that year. This group comprised of part of the Michigan delegation, banded together with various Slavic Federations and organized the Communist Party. They drew up plans to penetrate the AF of L and organize the American workers on the basis of "industrial unionism" with revolution as the final aim.

During the next three years they were fairly successful with their infiltration plan and manufactured a large size headache for the AF of L. In 1923 and 1924 the AF of L, becoming alarmed over the comrades numerical growth and activities, expelled great numbers of them from the unions, after which compelling them to agitate mostly outside the unions. They were not very successful with the exception of a few needle trades strikes and the Passaic strike in 1926 where they muscled in to some extent. The "Save the Union Committee" had been needling John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers for some time when in the fall of 1928 William Z. Foster, following his return from Russia, became active organizing them into a Red industrial union called the "National Miners Union" (NMU).

Shortly afterward some fifty odd Red unions, among which was the Marine Workers League (outgrowth of the International Seamen's Clubs) were organized under the banner of the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL). This was an openly revolutionary federation of unions dual to the AF of L. The stock market crash of '29 occurred. The Red influence grew during the depression that followed. Foster, with the TUUL, organized the unemployed. The bonus army marched. The "Hoover camps" sprang up like mushrooms all over the country. Local, State and National hunger marches occurred. From an agitational point of view, *things really hummed!*

The Marine Workers' League, afterwards the MWIU, participated actively in all this with their waterfront unemployment councils and relief demonstrations.

In Baltimore the MWIU was so successful that seamen's committees actually handled their own relief machinery. *Exulting, they flew the Soviet Flag over the*

Send Greetings to May "Voice" for 4th Anniversary of M. W. I. U.!

MARINE WORKERS VOICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN
Marine Workers Industrial Union
AMERICAN SECTION
INTERNATIONAL OF SEAMEN AND SHIPBUILDERS

Do Your Part
Help Sell The Voice! Write for
The Voice! Buy A Press Stamp!

STRIKE WAVE SWEEPING SHIPS AND DOCKS

Baltimore Seamen National Committee Meeting Coal Boat Victory

MARINE WORKERS OF THE WORLD VOICE

MARINE WORKERS VOICE
Organ of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
NEW YORK CITY
MAY, 1934



Unemployed Marine Workers on the march from Baltimore to Washington They were told

NEW YORK, MAY, 1934

ALLS NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF

Clips of MWIU official organ listing "union" as "American Section of ISH"

*Anchorage.** This act was directly responsible for their losing the administration of relief and also the *relief for the seamen* for a short period.

The MWIU continued its agitation among the seamen. Meanwhile the steamship owner was doing his full share to contribute to the final "breaking of the camel's back." Crews were reduced, wages were lowered drastically and conditions on most ships were revolting. The Munson Line finally reached the point where it paid its crews off with IOU's and the "one egg" joke became a reality, not a joke, on their vessels.

George Mink became National Chairman of the MWIU, Roy B. Hudson, National Secretary and they busily organized numerous job actions aboard various ships as the Party line directed. In 1933 when the National Industrial Recovery Act (later known as the NRA) was passed by Congress and Code Hearings were held in Washington. The MWIU sent a delegation there to testify as did the ISU, which sent Paul Scharrenberg. The passage of this act resulted in an increased membership for both the MWIU and the ISU. The '34 West Coast strike occurred and the MWIU became active there. This strike was finally settled by the Mediation Board appointed by President Roosevelt. The SS Texan crew struck on the Atlantic Coast while still under articles. They were charged with mutiny and William L. Standard was their attorney.

After the '34 strike there was no Atlantic agreement. A great disparity in wages and conditions existed between the two coasts. Dissension was mounting even among the ISU seamen who would have no truck with the comrades. Trouble was brewing fast. A strike vote had been taken by the ISU setting an East Coast strike date for October 8, 1934. The MWIU meanwhile held a convention in Baltimore on the preceding Labor Day where they voted to agitate for strikes as usual. Therefore, when the ISU announced its proposed strike, they moved unanimously to support it.

The shipowners notified Washington they would recognize the ISU and the strike was called off, on October 7th. The MWIU, however, ordered their men to strike and afterwards claimed to have struck some 25 ships in several ports. This recognition of the ISU was a severe setback to the MWIU. The Party realized that pretty much the same thing was happening to its other Red unions affiliated to the TUUL. Apparently, *the American workers were not yet ready for the "revolution."*

The Party was not long in acting to meet this new situation. On January 15, 1935, the Central Committee, CP-USA, met at the 13th Street "Kremlin" in New York, and in a resolution declared that there were "new and great possibilities of revolutionary mass work" within the AF of L Unions.

The existing revolutionary trade unions (TUUL) and their locals were *ordered* to join the AF of L and its locals. They were ordered to join in large groups where possible, and failing in that they were to join individually. This was done, and as a consequence the "democratic" Marine Workers Industrial Union was dissolved by the orders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA.

*Later, in 1938, the NMU crew of the SS Pastores hoisted a Soviet banner while in a Central American port.

UNITY
THE NEW YORK PUBLICATION OF THE
MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION

NOV. 3, 1934
140 BROAD ST., 5th FLOOR, N.Y.C.
WHO YOU GOING TO?
--eliot The Waterfront
--eliot The I.L.A. guy

DOGHOUSE NEWS
PUBLISHED BY THE
WATERFRONT UNEMPLOYED COUNCIL

ORGANIZED ACTION

Call For National Hunger March
To All Seamen, Employed and Unemployed,
To Members of L.S.U., L.W.W. and All Other Seamen, Organized and Unorganized.

WAGE CUTS AND FORCE RELIEF FOR UNEMPLOYED!
The unemployed seamen in Baltimore and New York both under the leadership of the L.W.W. have shown the for the seamen--ORGANIZATION AND STRIKE which lie in our numbers --suppose this --suppose which lie in our numbers --suppose which lie in our numbers

SUPPORT
CENTRAL SHIPPING BUREAU

DOGHOUSE NEWS
PUBLISHED BY THE
WATERFRONT UNEMPLOYED COUNCIL

NOV. 3, 1934
140 BROAD ST., 5th FLOOR, N.Y.C.
WHO YOU GOING TO?
--eliot The Waterfront
--eliot The I.L.A. guy

703

OPEN FORUM
ALL WELCOME

The COMMUNIST PARTY

SPEAKER: SIDNEY HARRIS
NOT DINNER AT MARINE SCHOOL

QUESTIONS - DISCUSSION
SUNDAY, 1736/17
3 P.M. INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S CLUB
140 BROAD

UNITY
THE NEW YORK PUBLICATION OF THE
MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION

NOV. 3, 1934

ISU NEGOTIATING SELL OUT
The ISU has been negotiating with the shipowners for a month now, and what has been the result? A sell out! A sell out! A sell out!

Unity-Doghouse News and MWIU leaflets—Note CP tieup with International Seamen's Club at 140 Broad Street the New York Headquarters of the MWIU

The membership of this "truly democratic" organization had no voice in the matter. The MWIU in accordance with the Party line, offered to join the ISU in a body. When their offer was refused they attempted to join as individuals to, as they later said, "revitalize, by agitation, the moribund ISU."

Following this there was continual agitation for West Coast demands; the old ISU officials found themselves hard put to cope with the new element suddenly surging into the unions. They changed the district constitutions and used the new constitutional provisions to expel many of the comrades. Comrades Roy Hudson, Tommy Ray and others, behind the scenes, acting for the Party, began a court action against the officials of the MFOW in the fall of 1935.

William L. Standard, attorney for the "rank and file," sought to have the new MFOW constitution set aside on the grounds that it had been illegally adopted. The CP put out many printed booklets wherein it analyzed the constitution and exhorted all seamen to fight dictatorship within the ISU! One booklet entitled "Dictatorship or Democracy" is referred to later in this volume. After considerable delay the case was tried before Judge Walsh of the Supreme Court, State of New York and the decision was rendered in favor of the ISU. An appeal from this decision was taken which is also referred to later in this volume. Things looked very dark for the bona-fide seamen shortly before the spring of 1936.

The ISU officialdom, with very few exceptions, was, callously indifferent to the welfare of the union members being interested only in its own welfare—mostly financial. The shipowner, well aware of the existing state of affairs, arbitrarily ignored the men on the ships, paying little heed to their complaints and less in wages. The Communists, like lousy vultures, patiently waited for an opening to strike. The stage was all set for old man trouble to take a bow. The Communist Party with sinister intent moved from the shadows to create chaos and disruption.

II MINK—THE "BUTCHER"

GEORGE MINK, said to have been a taxi driver in Philadelphia prior to 1926-27, was the National Chairman of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union. He is also secret agent for the OGPU (now the NKVD) and carries credentials as such. Prior to the formation of the MWIU he was active in forming and propagating the International Seamen's Clubs, Marine Workers Educational, Progressive, and Marine Workers' Leagues. He went to Latin America and Europe in 1928-29 and '30 where he attended various Red conventions and congresses in Hamburg, Germany and other points, always returning to the U.S. via Russia. In Copenhagen, Denmark, on July 30, 1935, George Mink and Nicholas Sherman were sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment, guilty of espionage against a neighboring country (Germany). They were also charged with having forged passports.

George Mink was also known as Alfred Hertz, alias Herz and is known throughout Europe in left wing circles as the "Butcher." He was reported to have proceeded to Moscow after his release from prison in Denmark. He "talked" his

way out of having failed on his Danish mission. Since he is the brother-in-law of S. Ambrovitz Dridzo, (A. Lozovsky), Secretary of the RILU (see photograph page 8) may have helped him. Ordinarily, Stalin doesn't overlook failures. Mink was then placed on "Courier" service and assigned to special missions inside Europe. He was reliably reported seen in the company of Juliet Stuart Poyntz in Moscow,



Danish and New York Times clips of Mink-Sherman espionage trial and conviction

late in 1936. Miss Poyntz, an American Party operative, later created a minor sensation in the United States when it became known she'd disappeared from her New York rooms late in May or early in June 1937. It was charged before a Federal Grand Jury in February 1938, that she had been "lured" back to Russia to be purged. A former "high functionary" of the Communist Party, writing to a friend about this said:

"New York, February 13, 1938

"Dear Comrade:

"I read the stuff in the Times [New York] in reference to the Poyntz kidnapping and congratulate you in having taken the initiative on this matter. I know from the past of cases of kidnapping of 'disloyal' Russians of which I learned from a friend of mine working in an important capacity in the 'Amtorg' but the extension of the system to foreign Communists or dissident radicals is a relatively recent development. I know, of course, of foreign Communists being lured to go 'voluntarily' to Moscow and being kept there as 'guests' in some cases exiled to some 'duty' in a far corner of the Soviet Empire, but no kidnapping on foreign soil like the Poyntz case.

"The extension of the GPU terror not only to Russians in the service of 'their' country, and the other 'enemy' Russians in foreign countries to foreigners and others is more the Fascist method of organized assassination used against leaders of opposing tendencies, like in Spain, which too might be extended to other countries when circumstances favorable to the Stalinists develop.

"I knew Miss Poyntz well, she having worked under my direction on some occasions, as far as I know she worked for the GPU herself for some time and could tell about their doings not only here but in other countries; but she was no real GPU material, her inclination to adventuring made her do it out of principle.

"I suppose you know, that the foreign service of the GPU has a 'center' in New York. I came in contact with this 'machinery' only casually in performance of my work while I was a high functionary of the CP.

"Max Bedacht, now President of the IWO, was the high contact man between the Politburo of the American CP and the 'center' and Alexander Trachtenberg, in charge of the 'International Publishers', was the chief contact between the Politburo and the 'Amtorg'. The transport of the kidnaped Russians used to be arranged by the 'center' through the Amtorg transport connections in which they used not only Russian ships, but as far as I could learn, ships of the 'Scantic Line' and the 'American Export Line' with whom they have 'favored' business arrangements; this was still under the Hoover Administration and the same presumably still continues.

"One 'Finkelberg' formerly of the Typos Union 'Big Six' was the traveling agent of the 'center' between New York, Canada and South America. The 'center' really directs all the secret work of the CP in the U. S. Government departments *and is considerably interested in 'unions' like those of the waterfront of which one George Mink was formerly the 'key' man,* he now works for the GPU in Barcelona. They are also heavily interested in unions like the chemical and civil engineers, *the office and professional workers, etc.**** [Emphasis Ours]."

Note: This letter was written in longhand by a former party functionary, therefore we have not photostated it for obvious reasons, however, we are fully prepared to substantiate this exact printed copy if necessary.

George Mink, as stated in the above letter, was in Barcelona. He had gone there from Moscow as "Chief of Police" for the Communist Party's dreaded "Cheka" operating in Barcelona, Spain, in May 1937, with a list of men to "liquidate." He engaged then in the assassination of those who militantly opposed the Communist Party's domination of the Loyalist faction in the "Civil War." Some ex-Loyalist seamen on returning to America told of how he ran things there.

It was also charged before a United States Grand Jury that Mink, a member of the Communist Party of the United States and an OGPU agent, had organized, directed and executed the assassination of one Camillo Berneri in Barcelona. As Alfred Herz, George Mink lived in the Continental Hotel, Apt. 418, at Barcelona and he was in constant contact with the Russian General Consul, Antonio Ovsenko. He was also charged with the murder of Barberi in Barcelona and the kidnapping of Mark Rein.

Mink has also been charged with the kidnap-murder of Ignace Reiss—a Soviet secret agent—near Lausanne, Switzerland, September 2, 1937. A topcoat bearing the label of a Madrid clothing house was found near the body of Reiss. The coat was identified as belonging to Mink. It is not known whether Mink was one of those arrested and subsequently released by the Sûreté in Paris, for the crime, during October of that year, since he may have used an alias. Papers on Reiss' body however, according to L'Humanité (Paris CP paper) gave the name of "Herman Eberhard." This was the name of Mink's companion during his activity in Barcelona the same year. Mink has since been reported in Mexico, where he was supposed to "get" Trotsky. He was last reported by authentic sources to have been seen in San Antonio, Texas. This, to date, is the story, in part, of one of the "democratic" leaders of the MWIU which later grew into the NMU through the process of deception of the general seamen.



**Roy B. (Horseface—the Bishop)
Hudson, former National Secretary
MWIU, member Central Committee
CP—USA**



**George Mink, GPU spy and former
National Chairman MWIU**

MARINE WORKERS VOICE

Forward to A Year

By R. B. HUDSON

The MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION is celebrating its fourth year as a union at a time when the workers in the marine industry, seamen, longshoremen, harbor workers have already begun mass struggles against the wages and conditions prevailing on American ships and docks. The willingness of the workers in all ports to organize and struggle is growing as it never has for years.

When the Union was launched in April, 1930 the seamen were nearly completely unorganized, the longshoremen partially so. This lack of organization prevailed, not because of any unwillingness of the marine workers to organize, but because of their disgust with the betrayals at the hands of the Ryans and Furuseths, and a realization of the bankruptcy of the programs of the I.S.U., the I.L.A. and I.W.W. Behind this disgust lay a real desire for unionism. The crash of Wall St. in 1929 and the beginning of the world wide crisis were a warning of new attacks by the shipowners and the need of organization to resist them.

manning and speedup, by the maintenance of an army of unemployed that numbers in the hundreds of thousands—part of the 16,000,000 jobless in this country.

The Partners of the Shipowners

And what has been the role of the I.S.U., I.L.A.? What have they done to defend the interests of the marine workers? First of all, none of these organizations have led any struggle of the workers! The officials of the I.S.U. and I.L.A. are opposed to struggle. In the case of the I.L.A., where struggles have developed, they have been forced by the militant action of the rank and file, who met with the opposition of their officials, who tried to prevent struggle and when this failed played the role of actual strikebreakers. These officials have become part and parcel of the NRA, have participated in all the secret conferences on the codes have become the "labor advisors" of the Government. They are the fathers of the strikebreaking



The Second National Convention of the Union, in July, 1933.

This situation served to stimulate the more militant and conscious workers of the industry and re-

National Maritime Board (now Shipping Labor Board) and the Decasualization Plan. They have urged not to resort to militant action.

Picture of second NWIU convention—Alexander "Ding Dong" Bell in foreground and article by (Horseface) Hudson

GREETINGS TO THE M.W.I.U. CONVENTION

Revolutionary greetings from the Trade Union Unity Council and its affiliated unions to the National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

The militant struggles of the employed and unemployed marine workers under the leadership of the Industrial Union are the best proof of the fighting character of the union. Forward to the building of a Marine Workers Industrial Union that will unite all the workers for immediate improvement of their conditions and against the bosses' imperialist war.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER greets the Marine Workers Industrial Union in its Second National Convention. We sincerely hope that it will succeed in further uniting the workers in this industry into one revolutionary marine workers union—**THE MARINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION.**

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER is a working class fraternal organization. It gives insurance benefits to workers for the lowest possible rates. But the International Workers Order does not limit itself merely to its fraternal functions. It is a class struggle organization, participating actively in the struggles of the working class.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER pays sick benefits from \$3.50 to \$15 a week and death benefits from \$150 to \$2,000. The International Workers Order consists of many language sections, all of them having a combined membership of about 25,000 members.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER also carries on broad cultural and educational activities.

Send your application to the National Office, International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Ave. New York City

Greetings from the crew of the *Nosa Queen* to the Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. We are sending \$8.50 as a pledge of our solidarity in the struggle for three watches, full crews and full wages.

A group of seamen on a Colombian Line vessel greets the Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and wish it all success. We remit \$10 for the support of the convention.

HAIL THE
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
Read On! **THE LABOR DEFENDER**
5 cents a copy, \$9 cents a year
"For Mass Defense to Free All Class War Prisoners."

THE FINNISH WORKERS FEDERATION
Greets the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
and Supports Your Fight against the Bosses

From a Comrade
Greetings from the
WORKERS BOOK SHOP
50 East 13th St. N. Y. C.
"All Revolutionary Literature"

THE STEEL AND METAL WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION
New York District and its
Silver and Holloware Section
Greets the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

Greetings to the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
Read **"DER ARBEITER"**
Official German Organ, C.P.U.S.A.
35 East 12th St. N. Y. C.
"Last den ARBEITER"

THE OFFICE WORKERS UNION
Greets the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union

Greetings from
A group of revolutionary workers on
the Baltimore Waterfront
The Crew of the *Munmysic*
Marine Unit, C. P., Baltimore
J. E., Baltimore

Greetings to the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
from the
Ukrainian-Russian Dramatic Club
339 So. Caroline St., Baltimore

HAIL THE
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
HEALTH CENTER CAFETERIA
59 East 13th St. N. Y. C.

THE ALTERNATION PAINTERS
Greets the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union

Greetings to the
SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION
OF THE MARINE WORKERS
INDUSTRIAL UNION
"Training for the Class Struggle"
35 East 12th St., New York
Classes in all Working Class
Problems. Get information
about Correspondence
Courses.

A group of Greek Seamen pledge
their Solidarity
to the
National Convention of the
Marine Workers Industrial Union

A group of Spanish speaking seamen
pledge their solidarity
to carry out the program of
organization and struggle pre-
pared by the National Conven-
tion for the unity of all seamen.

HAIL THE
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
For Mass Defense to Free All
Class War Prisoners
New York District
INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE
799 Broadway, Room 339, N. Y. C.

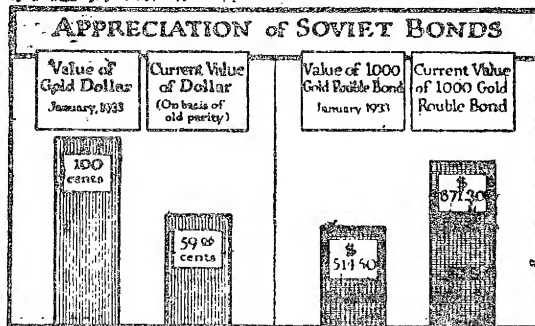
FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION
Greets the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union

Revolutionary Greetings to the
Second National Convention of the Marine Workers Industrial Union
from the
Daily Worker
Read the **DAILY WORKER**
Single copy 3 cents, 75 cents a month
The National Committee
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

SOVIET UNION GOLD BONDS

*~ equivalent to a
fixed quantity of gold*

Coincident with the increase of nearly 70% in the official price of gold in the United States during the past year, holders of Soviet Government gold bonds have witnessed a corresponding increase in both the value of their holdings and their interest payments.



Thus, the foresighted investor who purchased ten 1000 gold rouble bonds in the early part of 1933 at a cost of \$5,145 can resell them today for \$8,713.

This is because the gold bonds of the Soviet Union are payable in the equivalent of a fixed quantity of gold, and both principal and interest are paid in American currency at prevailing exchange rates. Any additional increase in the price of gold in terms of the dollar obviously would cause these bonds to further appreciate in value.

SOVIET UNION 7% GOLD BONDS

are the direct obligation of a nation which has met promptly every obligation which it has assumed during the entire 16 years of its existence. Among such payments were short and long term credits involved in the purchase of over \$4.5 billion in foreign goods.

Long term marketability is assured the investor by the agreement of the State Bank of the U.S.S.R., to repurchase these

bonds on demand of the holder at any time after one year from date of purchase, at par and accrued interest. The State Bank has a gold reserve of more than \$706 million.

Bonds are offered at par and accrued interest in denominations of 100 and 1000 gold roubles. (A gold rouble contains 0.774234 grams of pure gold.) Interest is paid quarterly at the Chase National Bank of New York.

"Send for Circular V-3 for information about these bonds"

Soviet American Securities Corp.
30 Broad Street Tel. HAnover 2-5332 New York

703 IPED

Marine Workers Voice advocated purchase of Stalin's bonds by American seamen

Where To Join HEADQUARTERS OF THE M.W.I.U.

BOSTON —	382 Commercial St.
NEW YORK	140 Broad St.
PHILADELPHIA	312 So. Second St.
BALTIMORE	716 S. Broadway
NEW ORLEANS	239 Decatur St.
SAN FRANCISCO	3rd fl., 437 Market St.
SEATTLE, WASH.	70 Marion St.
PORTLAND, ORE.	301 Gerlinger Bldg., 220 ALDER ST.
BUFFALO	200 Ellicott St.
LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND	64 So. Castle St.
NORTH SHIELDS, ENGLAND	11 Upper Pearson St.
OSLO, NORWAY	Karl Johansgade, 2
GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN	Allegaten, 2
LENINGRAD, SOVIET UNION	Prospect Ogorodnikova 15
ARCHANGEL, SOVIET UNION	Nabereshnaja
NOVOROSSISK, SOVIET UNION	Sacco Vanzetti St., 7
VLADIVOSTOK, SOVIET UNION	Ulitsa Lenina
ODESSA, SOVIET UNION	Lastotchkina, 2
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK	Tolbogode 16
ESBJERG, DENMARK	Borgergade, 60
ANTWERP, BELGIUM	64 Kloosterstraat
ROTTERDAM, HOLLAND	7a Willemskade
MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY	Calle Vieja, 1640
VANCOUVER, B. C., Canada	159 Powell St.

Note International ramifications of MWIU

III THE PILOT

THE Marine Workers League first published the Marine Workers Voice in the latter part of 1928. Comrade Ned Sparks, later CP organizer in Milwaukee, was the first editor. (More recently, Sparks was associated with the "Waterfront Labor Research Bureau" in New York and spent much time around the NMU hall). Hays Jones, present Lakes corresponding editor for the NMU Pilot, became editor for the "Voice."

After the Marine Workers Industrial Union was organized in 1930 under the direction of the Central Committee of the CP-USA following orders from the (Soviet) Profintern the Voice continued as the official organ of that "union." It was published monthly and outlined revolutionary policies for the seamen as a component part of the Red Industrial setup organized by Commissar Wm. Z. Foster under the name of the "Trade Union Unity League."

councils,* another mimeographed bulletin called the "Doghouse News" was distributed on the waterfronts. This bulletin was put out by the MWIU also. Jones was listed officially as the editor. Its chief objective was to agitate the seamen on relief issues and it centered its attacks mainly on the Seamen's Institutes.

When the Central Committee dissolved the MWIU (1935) the Marine Workers Voice folded up but the Doghouse News continued a short while before it too was discontinued. In February 1935, Tommy Ray began "publishing" the mimeographed "ISU Pilot."

This followed a fraction meeting held at room 811, Number One Union Square. Present at this meeting were Tommy Ray, Wm. C. McCuiston, Al Lannon, James D. Gavin and other leading waterfront party functionaries. Tommy Ray produced an allotted \$25.00 from the CP for their "proposed" Pilot. Gavin suggested the slogan; "Let's keep our union on a true course." Though none of these men, all known comrades, were then members of the union (ISU), being barred for their affiliation, they were going to "keep *their* union on a true course."

The paper appeared on South St. in February 1935, with question marks in lieu of a masthead, announcing that a contest would be held among the seamen to select a name for the new paper.

Subsequently, the sheet appeared wearing the "new name"—"ISU Pilot." The slogan, "keep our union on a true course" decorated the masthead. The seamen were informed that "a brother" had suggested this "most appropriate" name and had received the five dollar contest award.

The Party paid for this sheet. Though it was supposed to sell for three cents few seamen bought it, therefore it was absolutely necessary for them to subsidize it. However, they were seeking a means to foist the cost of this publication onto the seamen.

Comrade Charlie Rubin (Robbins) was supposedly editor of this "Pilot" and he continued to "function" as such until after the spring strike—'36. The Party had maneuvered the seamen into adopting the ISU Pilot as the "official organ of the striking East Coast members" April 6, 1936. The ISU Pilot was first published weekly at room 811 Number One Union Square. The Communist Party also functioned from this address until they moved to East 13th St.

Later the Pilot was transferred to PO Box 62, Wall Street Station, NYC. It grew from a mimeographed rag to a four-page printed sheet during this time and continued as such.

During the fall-winter strike, the party caused the seamen to adopt the ISU Pilot as their official paper, at a meeting of the newly formed "Atlantic District Committee of the International Seamen's Union of America" (rank and file), Wednesday, December 23, 1936 (215 Tenth Avenue).

The minutes show:

"Motion made by Frederick Myers, seconded by Robert Desmond, that the District Committee assume responsibility of publishing the Pilot; each District Union being designated as its sponsor; that the District Committee assume all responsibility for the financial matters related to the publication; that the present editorial board be designated as the permanent

*The CP years afterward developed these unemployment councils into the "Workers Alliance."

editorial staff; that the editorial board be invited to attend the District Committee meetings. So carried."

Thus the Party "arranged" for the seamen to pay the costs of publishing the

Page 8 The I. S. U. Pilot January 4, 1937

The I. S. U. Pilot

Published weekly by the
Eastern and Gulf District Unions of the International Seamen's
Union of America


comprising
Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Ass'n, Marine Firemen, Oilers' and Water-
tenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf, and the Marine Cooks' and
Stewards' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf

Official organ of the East Coast and Gulf Seaboard
164 11th Ave. New York

RING OUT THE OLD-RING IN THE NEW

New Year

Eight bells have struck 'Tis New
Years night;
Old Year—it is your watch below
So mark your gear and hit the
pike;
Yet just a word before you go.




Page 8 The I. S. U. Pilot November 12, 1936

The I. S. U. Pilot

(Official Organ of the East Coast and Gulf Strike)

WHO IS "OUTLAW"?

In little over a week approximately 20,000 seamen on the At-
lantic and Gulf have piled off the ships to reinforce more
than 37,000 men out on the Pacific Coast. Yet the oligarchy



AS ONE UNION MAN TO ANOTHER

We have come a long way brother,
We have traveled You and I
Fought an uphill, stubborn battle
And we're more than won a tie;
Turn your gaze a few years back-
ward,
See the gains that we have made,
And we must not on our laurels

Section
Español
Pag. 9 & 10

THE I. S. U. PILOT

KEEP OUR UNION ON A TRUE COURSE

703 DEU

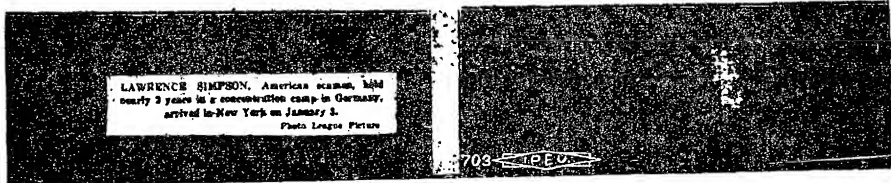
Published Weekly 164 - 11th Ave., New York N. Y.

N. Y. TAG
DAYS
Jan. 16 & 17
TO AID
STRIKE
See Back Page

Vol. III—No. 2 New York City, January 12, 1937 This Week 12 Pages PRICE 5 Cents 116

STRIKING SEAMEN BARE SPIES, FINKS

STORY ON PAGES 2, 3 & 12



Later "official" Pilots

paper which they intended to utilize. At the same time this official endorsement by the "District Committee" served to reassure the seamen, some of whom yet looked askance at the Pilot, associating it with the Voice and Doghouse News. Charles Rubin resigned "officially" prior to the fall strike and Harry (Hynes) Hall—another former editor of the Voice—became editor.

Gradually the paper increased in size and its capacity for mudslinging grew in proportion. Hall resigned and Comrade Lowell C. Chamberlain became editor. The membership became dissatisfied with the communistic trend of the Pilot which by this time had become the NMU Pilot. The ISU had obtained injunctions restraining any other parties from using the name "ISU" on insurgent publications; the paper then became the NMU Pilot.

There was trouble on various occasions because of the paper's communistic makeup. Hennessey, the assistant editor, tried hard to confine the paper to the advocacy of straight trade union principles and eliminate its "Daily Worker policies" but the Party machine within the union, grown too strong by this time, overruled most of his objections. Any criticism of the Pilot was promptly blasted by the ship and shore CP units. The misled membership generally was maneuvered into supporting Curran and the Party who consistently opposed all attempts by Hennessey and the rank and file to clean up the paper.

King fired Comrade Chamberlain for distorting an article. Later Comrade Corby Paxton, former editor of the Voice of Labor (Honolulu), became editor of the Pilot. A comparison of any issue of the Pilot with any contemporary copy of the Communist Party's Daily Worker, will reveal the close affinity that has always existed between the two.

Tommy Ray, stating at an NMU meeting, July 29, 1938: "I was the first editor of the Pilot" has fulfilled his Party's instructions very successfully as the present NMU Pilot testifies.

IV THE SPRING STRIKE

IN November 1935 the ISU negotiated contracts with the owners to expire December 31, 1936. A subsequent membership referendum voted down these pacts by a large majority. In March 1936 the ISU officials announced they had negotiated a new agreement identical with that rejected excepting provisions for a five-dollar monthly wage increase for some ratings. This agreement was to expire December 31, 1937. ("A two-year agreement" like the present NMU contract).

Discontent was rife among the seamen heightened by a year's Communist Party agitation. Following several job actions the SS California crew, on March 3, in San Pedro, Calif., refused to let go the lines. When the vessel returned to New York sixty-three members of the crew and Curran were fired—charged with mutiny!

The membership's smoldering resentment flared and the Spring strike of 1936 exploded into being. The California crew voted strike. The American Trader's crew and other crews followed suit. The story insofar as the non-Party seamen, who had not belonged to the MWIU, began.

The owners and the ISU maintained these seamen struck in violation of existing contracts and the union's rules and were outlaws. Both demanded that the striking seamen live up to existing contracts and the ISU was asked to continue supplying men. This they attempted.

With headquarters established at 164 11th Ave., New York; the strike action was under way, with picket lines, soup kitchens, broken heads, and all that usually attends a strike.

The Spring strike was supposed to be under the guidance and direction of the "ISU Provisional Strike Committee." This body was composed of representatives "elected" from and by each ship as the vessel came in and struck. Later, when this committee became too large and unwieldy, "steering committees" were elected and the large committee* broken up. These committees *were supposed* to shape the policies of the striking seamen.

Behind the scenes the Communist Party struggled desperately to gain control of the strike by placing their men on the different committees.** They ceaselessly strove to sway the strike policies from those of trade unionism to make use of political opportunities, such as the action afforded. The Party was opposed in this by a bloc of seamen who saw they were being exploited and knew what the attempts meant.

The strike was bitterly fought as those who engaged in it will testify. The main action centered around the West Side docks. Parasites of all types, sensing a fertile field, flocked to the waterfront adding to the seamen's misery. The Communists as usual, busily recruited new party members. Young "comrade girls" popped up on the waterfront to exercise their wiles upon the seamen (successfully in some cases).

Comrades of all colors and descriptions hung out in strike headquarters and at times, when looking at the picket lines, it was hard to tell exactly *who* was on strike, since it was more than obvious many of the picketeers were not seamen. That is the kindest manner in which some of the picket lines could be described.

The bona-fide seamen resented this noisy intrusion into their affairs on the part of the pants-pressers, paper-punchers, fur and cafeteria employees and numerous other assorted "inspired" workers who contributed nought but hinderance. As a direct result the picket lines crumbled. Driven away from their own strike many seamen left the waterfront until the action ended. The picket lines were skeletons.

Passing the buck, Curran at a Manhattan Lyceum meeting, May 28, 1936, said, according to the minutes:

"The only reason we let outside organizations in the mass picket lines was because the seamen themselves would not turn out in sufficient numbers to make a showing. Seamen not interested in mass demonstrations but willing to let someone else do the work for them. That we have over 1200 men present here tonight but that not over 700 of them are active right now. Everyone wants to let the other fellow do his share."

*See names of this committee in the appendix.

**William Schneiderman, Communist Party secretary in California, whose status as ex-Russian, naturalized citizen has lately been challenged by the Government, said of the East Coast strikes:

"Before and during the strike, the Party mobilized all its forces to actively participate in every phase of the struggle. Every Communist Party member and sympathizer in the maritime unions participated actively in some phase of the strike activity, whether on the picket lines, in the various committees for organizing relief, publicity, finance, picketing and in the Joint Strike Committees in every port."

Curran's partisan defense of the Party at that early date indicated where his true sympathies lay as proven by his words. He knew he lied to the men *who trusted him* and blamed them as shirkers unjustly. He would neither place the blame for the seamen's desertions where it properly belonged, on the Party's shoulders, nor would he employ the simple remedy necessary to clear up the situation. All he had to do was to stand with the seamen and notify the Party its "vulgar boatmen" were not wanted and must be taken off the waterfront. The absentee strikers would have come back to the picket lines and finished the job they started.

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 18, 1936

SEAMEN'S MASS PICKET LINES



Labor Defense and Student Union Supporters.

Seamen's (?) Mass picket lines—Before the riot

Curran's artifices and sly fakery, however, were not the least of the seamen's troubles. They had to attend meetings and be subjected to the dubious oratory of speakers ranging from ambitious congressmen, crackpot fellow travelers, and oily party members to scheming shysters. Wm. Standard and Eugene Connolly, Sam Blinken and Hy Glickstein—which latter three achieved fame of sorts in the recent New York County American Labor Party squabble—attended many of these strike meetings increasing the burden of the seamen's general discomfort.

Certainly the striking ISU member needed plenty of fortitude to sit hungry and weary through those long meetings where he was the target of continual doses of propaganda.

The Party decided the strike needed a little publicity. Accordingly on Saturday, May 16, 1936, it pulled a stunt that made headlines, and headaches for many seamen. A mass picket line was assembled and supplemented by girls and women carrying banners of student and shoppers organizations before pier 61 where the SS Virginia was due to sail at 11 A.M.

Stealthily the comrades maneuvered themselves to the rear of the line. When a sufficient force was mustered in the rear they suddenly pushed the seamen before them into the line of police facing them, and . . . the riot was on!

One "bona-fide seaman," Comrade Pete Clay—who had a steel hook bound by leather to the stump of one arm—tried to hamstring a mounted policeman's horse. When the smoke cleared away quite a few seamen and one or two policemen had been hurt. Three hundred arrests were made. The photographers, evidently tipped off beforehand, got some good "shots" for the big Sunday write-ups of the affair.

Curran got his publicity. The seamen got . . . their lumps!

And of course, most important, the Party *had an issue to make capital of!*

Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine were flayed by the Daily Worker, the Pilot and other papers sympathetic to the strikers. The League of Women Shoppers, National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, Knickerbocker Democrats, ILD, the Catholic Worker, Morro Castle Safety at Sea Assn., American League Against War and Fascism, and the Citizens' Committee For Striking Seamen took up the hue and cry. A "Public Trial" was held at the Manhattan Opera House on May 27. The seamen were *rewarded* for their valorous conduct at a Webster Hall meeting, Tuesday, May 19, 1936, where many "prominent" speakers, including Congressman Marcantonio lavished unstinted praise upon them.

Despite all the hullabaloo, the strikers' initial enthusiasm rapidly waned and more ships were sailing. A short time prior to this the Party had decided to call off the strike. Tommy Ray met Jerry King on West 23rd St., and told him the strike was going to be called off. Though recognizing the strike was lost, King argued that the strike should be called off in a manner designed to afford the seamen the greatest amount of protection under the circumstances. He and Mulderig argued that the Party had no right to attempt to move in and by trying to summarily call off the strike, abandon the men. Ray then went along the waterfront where he issued *his* orders to the Party members stationed there.

"that the Amended Freezer's situation is and how it illegally adopted"

...ever come before the workers to explain the situation. In New York these infamous ... the police and prevented over 10 ... a public mass meeting b ... an explanation would ...

CP agitation bulletins Spring and Fall strikes—Standard pamphlet on ISU constitutions
—MWIU delegation to NRA code hearings, Washington, D. C.

The non-Communist seamen organized their forces and that night, April 25, 1936, at the Manhattan Lyceum, helped by the SS Santa Paula's crew voting in a solid bloc, the communist element and its Party machine was defeated. Sherman B. Lemmon was elected vice-chairman of the striking seamen and Ralph Emerson, permanent secretary.

Tommy Ray spoke at length in favor of terminating the strike. His speech didn't register so well with the men, so a motion was made by the comrades to grant Ray an additional ten minutes in which to speak. They demanded a show of hands on this and won 182 against 139, and Ray continued to speak in favor of calling off the strike.

Curran made an interesting revelation at this meeting when according to the record he said:

" * * * the California sailed from New York with the understanding that the rank and file on the beach *were going to start a general strike movement on the 24th of February*. This policy was advocated by the rank and file paper, the ISU Pilot, which set the 24th of February for deadline strike action." [Emphasis Ours].

The so-called rank and file, referred to by Curran, were the comrades, and although *he* may have had a previous understanding with them, it is certain *none of the bona-fide seamen had a like understanding*. At the time he spoke of, none of the bona-fide seamen read the Dog-House News or ISU Pilot or paid any attention to their contents. The seamen who came out on the bricks in the Spring Strike did so to support the bona-fide seamen on the SS California and American Trader who started the action and *they definitely had not come out to back up the so-called "rank and file on the beach."*

Comrades Rolf, Alexander, Rubin (Robbins), Whalen, Garnier and others all spoke in favor of the Party policy and tried to call the action off. But the meeting voted to declare the strike general and extended it to all the ports and ships of the Atlantic and Gulf, excepting Government and West Coast vessels.

When they found they had lost their point, *the Party fraction then tried to sabotage the strike* by various means. At one point they took most of their members off the waterfront. It will be recalled, by those taking part in the action, that Robert Meers, acting as the strikers' treasurer, suddenly became "sick" and left his post. Actually Meers was attending the Communist Party marine training school which they had just opened up-state in New York to train "leaders" for the waterfront.

It should be remembered that the strikers were all members of the ISU at the time with the exception of the nineteen expelled California men and some of the comrades. Lemmon, at a steering committee meeting on May 21, proposed that a committee of strikers go to Chicago to confer with the International Executive Board of the ISU on the question of forcing the District Unions (ISU) to recognize and arbitrate the demands of the strikers which had caused the trouble. On May 22, this committee was elected and proceeded to Chicago where it met with the International Executive Board.

On May 28, this group, consisting of Curran, Frank Jones, Jerry King and

James R. Walker reported back to a Manhattan Lyceum membership meeting. However, earlier that day they had reported at a steering committee meeting at 21 Bank St., where Curran acting as the Party instructed him, recommended acceptance of the Executive Board's proposals and that a small committee be elected to remain ashore and carry on the work.

The Board's proposals agreed "to take steps calculated to eliminate discrimination against members" who actively participated in the strike; the invoking of "a District Joint Board of Mediation of Conciliation to the end that all grievances may be adjusted" respecting the various claims of the strikers; and "to use every influence with the Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Assn. to arrange equitable treatment for the members recently expelled." In the final paragraph the proposals warned against the danger of the seamen yielding to the subversive propaganda being circulated anonymously. (See full text of proposals below):

TEXT OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD'S PROPOSALS FOR
TERMINATING THE SPRING STRIKE OF 1936

"The Executive Board of the International Seamen's Union of America has carefully considered the statements made by Joseph Curran, Frank Jones, J. King and James R. Walker on behalf of the group now conducting strike activities contrary to the Charter of the ISU in New York City. The aforesaid group having stated their desire to end the present controversy, and for the best interests of everyone to hereafter conduct their activities within the Union's Constitution, and being desirous of establishing harmonious relations in the Atlantic District of the International Seamen's Union of America, we hereby submit the following terms for a basis of settlement.

"1. The Executive Board of the International Seamen's Union of America agrees to take steps calculated to eliminate all discrimination against members, who have taken an active part in the present aforementioned activities called a strike, provided the alleged strike is called off promptly and those who claim to be discriminated against agree not to participate in any unlawful strikes in the future.

"2. The Executive Board of the International Seamen's Union of America agrees to immediately invoke the section in the Atlantic agreement providing for a District Joint Board of Mediation and Conciliation to the end that all grievances may be adjusted in an orderly and lawful manner, with due respect to the various claims of the alleged strikers.

"3. In the event that the foregoing terms are agreed to, the Executive Board of the International Seamen's Union of America hereby promises to use every influence with the Executive Board of the Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Assn., to arrange equitable treatment for the members recently expelled for participating in the unlawful strike.

"4. In connection with the subject matter of the unlawful strike in New York we again direct attention to the warning resolution adopted on a unanimous roll-call vote of the recent convention of the ISUA. . . .

"Resolved, by the thirty-third convention of the International Seamen's Union of America, in regular session assembled at Washington, D. C., on February 13, 1936, that we hereby warn the District Unions, members and seamen generally, of the Atlantic and Gulf, against the danger of yielding to subversive propaganda now being circulated from anonymous sources by irresponsible persons, intended to stampede the seamen into a strike under circumstances leading straight to disaster, it being the opinion of the Convention that strike action on the Atlantic and Gulf under existing conditions will not only result in defeat for the men in that District, but will also seriously endanger the District Unions and membership in the Pacific District.

"EXECUTIVE BOARD,

"INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA,

"(Signed) IVAN HUNTER, Secretary-Treasurer."

Despite its careful wording the list of proposals obtained by the strikers' committee contained a tacit admission from the Executive Board that the seamen had not struck without provocation. The text also promised restoration of their status as union members and seamen in the industry. This constituted some gain for these men who had been until now classed as outlaws both by their own union and the shipowners.

The seamen were able to return to the ships with protection from the union, which had been previously denied them. Had the Party been successful in calling off the action in April as Tommy Ray bitterly advocated, the outlawed seamen would have been isolated from the industry and left to starve on the beach. But the Communists were prevented from sacrificing the seamen for Party interests.

The steering committee voted to accept this plan and recommend it to the membership. That night's meeting was jammed with the largest crowd assembled indoors since the strike's inception.

When Curran saw the enormous attendance he called King outside excitedly and said: "With all those men still on strike we're far from licked. I'm going to tell the men to reject these proposals."

King advised Curran that he believed all "those men" had appeared there specifically to vote for going back to work. He counselled Curran to call it off without too much delay. Curran further revealed his true character to the close observer. Many of those who were present will recall that meeting. Haunted by the thought of the strike's end and that he would garner no more "World Telegram" headlines Curran stalled and delayed.

Fearful the men would return to the ISU and the old leaders and forget about him, Curran hesitated to utter the fateful words which might send him back to a soogee-bucket. He condemned the men for their "lack of support" and attributed all the evils of the strike to them. He was torn by the desire to come out openly and speak against the policy of calling off the strike, but he greatly feared the Party since they had told him "plenty" before the meeting. Though secretly hoping for a flat rejection of the proposals from the men, he dared not advocate it too openly.

Curran acridly declared the men's "lack of duty" was also responsible for the Executive Board's "insulting" proposals, calling them a "slap in the face" to the membership. An extract from the minutes of the May 28, closed membership meeting at the Manhattan Lyceum discloses his railing:

"If all present here would stay on duty at all times we could win all our demands but if they do not intend to do so we should accept the proposals of the Executive Board. Chairman Curran says that personally he does not accept the proposals but in looking from the viewpoint of the membership he favors acceptance."

The meeting quickly went into uproar. Tommy Ray, standing in the rear of the hall, went livid with rage at Curran's attempted duplicity. He and Al Lannon quickly dispatched messages to the Party members seated at strategic points throughout the hall. The Communist machine swiftly swung into action. These members rose all over the hall and advanced with upraised arms yelling, "Mr. Chairman."

"Mutiny Joe" Curran took one gander at the comrades' furious faces and his short-lived attempt at "revolution" was over. Nervous now, he knuckled down

seriously to his report. Discussion followed. The vote was taken and carried (as recorded in the minutes) by the "overwhelming majority of members present."

A telegram of acceptance was sent to the International Executive Board. The Spring strike was ended!

It was then voted to set up a committee to remain ashore. The nine men elected were:

Curran, A. Marca and A. L. Hennessey, Deck Dept.; J. King, Whalen and (Moon) Mullens, Engine Dept.; R. Emerson, F. Jones and Goodall, MC & S Dept.

This committee was empowered to co-op any bona-fide seamen to aid them when necessary.* The membership resolved support of the committee in a resolution setting aside two dollars per month of their wages. The group was named the Seamen's Defense Committee and retained the old strike headquarters, 164 11th Ave., for offices.

V SEAMEN'S DEFENSE—THE FIRST PURGE

AT the Defense Committee's first meeting, May 30, Curran and Emerson were elected permanent chairman and secretary respectively. The following members were co-oped* to assist the committee:

Burke, J. R. Walker and Joe Kane, Deck Dept.; H. Alexander, Peter Innes and Keane, Engine; Vargis, W. Waity and Simon Steglitz, MC & S. (Note: In view of later Pilot stories and charges against certain members, it would be well to remember some of these names listed here).

One ARTA member, Frank Robinson and a member of the so-called rank and file ILA were also co-oped. These co-oped members were given voice but no vote when the committee assembled. At the meetings, Tommy Ray, though holding no official position, was always present acting as Curran's guide and counsellor. Rank and file meetings were held before regular ISU meetings where policies and tactics were discussed which were later to be used at the regular union meetings.

The committee also aided the MFOW fight where the firemen were attempting to force their officials to conduct an honest election. Bulletins were issued calling for cash support. Though Curran later claimed the credit for the success attained in this fight, it was King and Mulderig, aided by Arthur Thomas of Port Arthur and the rank and file firemen who achieved this. The Party knew this very well as the minutes of a rank and file special meeting at 164 11th Ave., on August 5, show:

"Brother Ray speaks on proposed budget plan for the Committee.*** Gives detailed plan for cutting down expenses in regard to office fixtures, and supplies, carfare and general items. States that there are several men on the Committee who are indispensable to the work and putting in long hours on their jobs. Names Brothers Curran, Emerson, King, Robbins

*The Communists with this move paved the way to add party members to the committee later through co-opting them when they wished.

and Waity as men who are indispensable. Proposes that Brother Curran, as Chairman of the Defense Committee get \$20.00 per week, and the other four brothers \$10.00 per week, each. Shows list of other members of the Committee and co-oped men and proposed allotment of money for them and states reasons why these men have been able to get along with little or no help from the funds of the Committee. Ends by asking the meeting for the approval of this plan as a solution to our financial problem.

"Chairman Whalen declares floor open for discussion of the plan.

'Brother Walker, wants to know why the 9 men elected at the end of the strike were not all included on the full time basis. Inquires if Brothers Goodall and Hennessey are still on the Committee and if not active why others have not been elected in their places. States that Brother Jones is working full time and is a married man with responsibilities and wants to know what provision has been made for him.

"Point of information—Brother Ray—states that owing to an error Brother Jones' name was omitted from the list but that it has since been added and adequate provision made in his case."

Waity, another "indispensable" brother, was later called phony because he was friendly with King. (As a matter of fact, one charge later made against King was that he "had appointed Waity to a bookkeeping job). Although at various times, F. Jones and King were listed as Seamen's Defense Committee treasurers, Waity actually did all the work. It should be recalled that he worked day and night on the books *and was the only one ever rendering a complete financial statement* on the records during the entire rank and file period. Joe Curran, Jo-Jo Curren and Walter Carney later took some of those old records to Joe Curran's apartment where they burned them *for reasons best known to themselves*.

Curran needed money because of his responsibilities. Since they couldn't make fish of one and fowl of the other, the Party had to include King, Waity and Emerson in "Ray's" plan though secretly hating them because it (the Party) lacked control over them. As Ray explained, the others were able to get along, but he failed to tell "innocent" Brother Walker and the membership they were able to get along because of Party help. Curran repeatedly threatened to quit because of financial difficulties. Without too much trouble the Communists placated him and he continued as chairman.

The Party waited patiently until the strike's termination to get Patrick Codyre whom they had marked for . . . the purge! In June they went after him. Without previous sea service, the Party placed Codyre, at first, really in charge of the strike with Curran as the "front." Codyre, however, during the action, sometimes refused to attend Party meetings and failed to follow the "party line." Consequently, the usual, vicious, terrific whispering-campaign was directed against him. After he was sufficiently discredited by the party's slanders the Daily Worker ran a story about him that finished the job. (See picture on next page.)

Party members then clipped this story out to carry around with them. Conveniently forgetting to mention it was from the Daily Worker it was shown to many gullible seamen. The result was swift: Exit . . . Patrick Codyre!

The donations the strikers pledged before returning to work were skimpy at times. On several occasions loans were made by *interested* individuals to float the Seamen's Defense Committee through. The firemen were winning their elections in the MFOW, after some long awaited "breaks," but they didn't favorably regard

the Seamen's Defense Committee, mainly because of the Party's obvious influence, and Curran, who was rapidly becoming very arrogant.

Members of the Stewards' union, led by Comrade "Riff-Raff" Rolfe and Goodall had filed a court action charging Grange with a \$143,358.00 shortage. They demanded an accounting. The Seamen's Defense Committee was suddenly given a new lease of life. The "Fink Book" bill sponsored by Senator Copeland

His speech was ob-
tained to greet the Repub-
licans gathered in Cleveland. He
did nothing of the Democratic

organized the Wayne County Rifle
and Pistol Club as a blind for the
Black Legion.

Patrick Codyre Is Expelled From the Communist Party

Patrick Codyre, alias Pat Calhoun, is expelled from the Communist Party as an unreliable, untrustworthy and disruptive person unfit for membership in the Communist Party.

Codyre's bureaucratic actions as a member of the Seamen's Strike Committee, his persistent attempts to raise the "red scare," and the failure to deny persistent rumors that he engages in acts of degeneracy, have discredited him in the eyes of the I.S.U. members who did not re-elect him to their leading committee at the conclusion of the strike.

Codyre tried to use his personal contacts in the revolutionary movement, which he had because of his membership in the Party, not as a means of mobilizing support for the seamen's strike, but as a means of strengthening his own position and possibilities for carrying on disruptive work, trying to split the ranks of the strikers, by inciting them against the Communists. In his own way he tried to do what Hearst failed to do—create a "red scare."

During the entire course of the strike, Codyre refused to meet with

the Party or fight for its policy. On the contrary, on a number of occasions he did everything possible to try and prevent the adoption of policies which every event in the strike proved were correct.

His consistent struggle against a correct policy in the strike is indicated by the fact that he was one of the very few at the strikers' meeting of 1,200 that voted against terminating the strike on the terms recommended by the strike committee, although he voted for them in the strike committee.

Although warned a number of times during the strike, Codyre refused to change his course. When notified that charges had been placed against him, and that he should appear before the Section Committee and there answer them and defend himself, he refused to do so.

Codyre's actions show that he was not only disloyal to the Communist Party but also to the best interests of the strikers and members of the International Seamen's Union.

All workers and their organizations should be warned against him as an unreliable, disruptive person, who cannot be entrusted with any responsibility.

Ethiopian

709-1200

Trial of 18

and Representative Bland was presented before Congress. Immediately all maritime groups took up the fight. Presented at such an opportune moment with a "popular" issue the revitalized Defense Committee again rallied and spurred the seamen's flagging interest. Joseph Curran, Howard McKenzie, Joe Kane and Wm. C. McCuistion made a coastwise tour which in the Party's words "went a long way toward solidifying rank and file sentiment."

September rolled around. Negotiations dragged through that month and October then broke off on the Pacific. The unions there, now banded into the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, struck. The Defense Committee's "Pilot" immediately called on the East Coast seamen to take similar action. The MFOW meanwhile had won their election and set up their hall at 215 10th Ave., New York. The companies refused passes for the MFOW patrolmen. One Luckenbach and four IMM crews sat down to force issuance of these passes. Strike sentiment grew on the East Coast and on October 31, 1936, the ISU represented by Ivan Hunter called a mass meeting at Cooper Union Hall hoping to avert an East Coast tie-up.

VI WINTER STRIKE CALL

THE old-line officials botched the job badly and the seamen, further antagonized by the presence of ISU "goon" squads, got completely out of hand. The ISU officials threw in the sponge and walked out of the meeting about 10:30 P.M., after vainly trying to adjourn it. Informed that more money was needed to continue the use of the hall until midnight, the seamen collected approximately \$134.00 among themselves to pay the rent. (See picture of Mulderig counting money on platform).

Curran and others waiting outside the hall entered. In the following confusion a motion was made to strike all East Coast ships until the West Coast won their demands. The motion passed and the meeting adjourned. Strike headquarters were again set up at 164 11th Ave., New York and at a November 4 meeting a Strike Strategy Committee was "elected" composed of the following: Curran, Al. Lannon, Glen Skogman, Deck Dept.; J. Lawrenson, F. Mulderig, P. Keenan, Engine Dept.; F. Smith, F. Jones and C. J. McCarthy, MC & S. (Cooks and Stewards).

In the strike's third week the ISU lost its court appeal for a new MFOW election. Then the firemen voted to strike "officially" at a headquarters meeting November 30. This was subsequently ratified on a coastwise scale. The firemen set up their own strike committee with the following elected men: J. Casey, Wm. C. McCuistion, R. McBride, W. Kaner, F. G. Renaud, P. Keenan and J. Lawrenson. (See facsimile of strike call).

The MFOW insisted on governing itself through its autonomous rights provided in the ISU constitution, under which they still operated. The firemen issued their own official clearance and started compiling a record of MFOW membership books. Walter Kaner, in charge of this detail, was assisted by a co-oped member, Sam Hilo. The Party and Curran didn't like this as evidence submitted herein shows. However, they didn't dare do much about it. In the bitterly fought (Fall-

To All Members of the

**MARINE FIREMEN'S, OILERS'
AND WATER-TENDERS' UNION
OF THE ATLANTIC AND GULF**

**Affiliated with the International Seamen's Union
of America—American Federation of Labor**

STRIKE CALL

Brothers: The M.F.O.W. has officially voted to go on Strike.

The strike vote took place at Headquarters, Monday, November 30th.

This has been endorsed by Branches in all Ports.

The M.M.P., the M.E.B.A. and the A.R.T.A. have already taken similar action. The seamen of all crafts are hitting the picket lines.

Now is the time to strike for our own demands and show our solidarity with the West Coast.

All ships crews upon reaching port are to take strike action and report for strike duty at their respective Union Halls.

J. Casey
William C. McCuistion
R. McBride
W. Kaner

F. G. Renaud
P. Keenan
J. Lawrenson

Strike Committee of the M.F.O.W.

**215 10th Ave.,
New York City**

Winter) strike a far greater number of seamen struck and did active picket duty than in the Spring strike.

A coastwise conference held about the middle of December 1936 decided to extend the action beyond mere support of the West Coast unions to a set of demands covering their own wages and conditions. At this conference the Sailors repudiated their District officials, George Cummings and Percy Pryor of Boston and Gus Brown of New York, pending recognition of the insurgents by the International Executive Board. They named in their stead three trustees, "Blackie" Myers of New York, Robert Desmond of Marcus Hook, and Charles DeGress of Mobile. The Marine Cooks and Stewards did likewise, designating Gethyn Lyons of Philadelphia, Guyser N. Manago of New York, and Phillip Montelbane of the Gulf. The firemen were asked to designate three of their legal officials to make up the new Atlantic and Gulf District Committee.

At the strike peak the seamen marched to Washington, D. C., for a demonstration. Pickets protested the "Fink Book" bill at the Dept. of Commerce building. This act was afterward amended making acceptance of the book provisional, as most seamen know.

One development was significant in the light of later events. Complaints were filed then with the NLRB against the ISU for signing the November 1935 agreements without the membership's consent. (Curran and other NMU "leaders" who squeaked, whined and howled about this, signed an agreement—four short years later—*before* even going through the motions ratifying it by shore meetings. The ISU did have the grace to submit the '35 agreement to a referendum which refused it).

VII THE GARDEN RALLY SWINDLE

A "ROUSING" rally was held at Madison Sq. Garden, December 16, 1936. Harry Bridges, who flew east with Peter J. Innes, Jr., was the principal speaker trying to bolster the East Coast strikers' morale. One of the highest party functionaries paid that night's rent for the Garden!

A letter to Rhea Whitley, counsel for the Dies Committee, from the Madison Sq. Garden Corporation, proves this. Quoting from page 6526 of the record of that hearing:

"Mr. Whitley. I want to read into the record at this time, Mr. Chairman, a letter dated October 27, 1939, written on the letterhead of 'Madison Square Garden Corporation, New York.' 'President's Office.' The letter is addressed to me and reads as follows:

"I have your letter of October 21 for information as to who paid the rental on Madison Square Garden for the Seamen's Union meeting held here on December 1936.

"The rental of \$3,500 was paid by certified check drawn by D. Leeds.

"That is David Leeds whom Mr. McCuiston has already identified for us.

"*** The check was drawn upon the Amalgamated Bank, Union Square, New York City, and was received by us on December 15, 1936.

"Our charges for service, etc., amounting to \$467 were paid by check No. 72 signed by the same individual. Our records do not show what bank this check was drawn on,

but we assume it was the same one as check for rental. This second check was received by us on December 21, 1936.

"Very truly yours,

"J. R. KILPATRICK, *President.*

"I offer this letter as an exhibit.

"Mr. Starnes. And as corroborative evidence?

"Mr. Whitley. That is right—to corroborate the witness's statement that this rally was financed entirely by the Communist Party."

David Leeds was then treasurer or financial secretary for the New York district of the Communist Party. Curran not only knew this but accepted money following the meeting, to finance his intended Boston trip the next day.

The rally was well packed with comrades. Photographs show Comrade Amter and other party "biggies" well up front with clenched fists upraised in the communazi salute. All the comrades this side of Moscow were present shaking the inevitable collection cans.

Over \$2,300 (cash) was collected from the floor and several thousand dollars more was pledged (some of which was later paid). This money, the pledges, \$900 from paid admissions and the tin-can collections were handed over to Leeds* immediately the rally closed, covering the rental and expenses with a slight profit.

The minutes of an NMU Atlantic District Committee meeting, at 126 11th Ave., January 31, 1938, however, reveal the Party's racket; debts payable were being discussed:

"Smith: A motion was passed some time ago to pay all bills on the waterfront. There are some bills that have not been paid yet, which were incurred during the strike.

"Byne: We are paying bills every week. We sent a check out this morning and one was sent out Saturday and another was sent to the Bright Lunch, which has gone out of business, but we recognize our debt to them never the less.

"Lawrenson (Jack): A private individual loaned the strike strategy committee \$1,000. for Madison Square Garden. Some attempt should be made to repay it.

"M/S/C."

This was carried and arranged. Byne, Jones and DeGress were then the sub-committee on finance, handling the union's money. Comrade Lawrenson proposed paying \$1,000 to a phony individual. The Party would issue a dummy receipt. Lieberman and the finance sub-committee would assure the union membership a legitimate debt was paid. Over a year later the Communist Party collected an additional thousand dollars on a non-existent debt. A ripe plum was plucked. That phase of the swindle was complete!

Forty-one days after the Madison Sq. Garden meeting the bitter strike ended. The seamen, meagerly fed and clothed during the action, returned to the ships. The ISU was almost completely broken up. An organized rank and file group was assuming definite proportions.

Before dispensing with the record of the Fall-Winter strike entirely it would be well to examine the facts concerning one man. His activities materially affected the East Coast seamen during that period; Peter J. Innes, Jr.

*Leeds later showed up under the name of "David Amarillo" in France in charge of financing the "American Lincoln Brigade" for the Communist Party.

VIII CURRAN EXPOSED

THE NMU Pilot on December 29, 1939, ran a thumbnail sketch on Peter J. Innes, Jr., in their so-called "rogues gallery." According to the Pilot, Innes appeared during the Spring in company with such unsavory characters as the vice-chairman of the strike (Lemmon) and the chairman of Brooklyn strike headquarters (Gurtov). No one knew him and he functioned through that strike keeping everyone in ignorance of his actions.

After the strike, the Pilot alleges, he rolled around like the eight-ball until the Fall-Winter strike when he again appeared out of no where. Once again he devoted all his efforts to keeping the membership in complete ignorance of his doings and it is inferred that he resumed his old habits of consorting with questionable persons. (The record shows that he constantly consorted with Harry Bridges, Rathborne, et al???)

He flew in airplanes, ran up phone bills, traveled about extensively like a comrade with an expense account, and though he continued to keep the membership ignorant of his doings, they apparently furnished him with the means to continue his "pointless gyrations" around Mexico and the United States. After that strike, this "thoroughly disreputable" sheep in wolf's clothing came east where he amused himself organizing the Mariners' Club; becoming purchasing agent for the union in order to satisfy his mania for stealing membership buttons and various other items like funeral allowances.

He "done King wrong" and then scrambled and as reported by the Pilot he was in Washington, D. C., maneuvering to involve Congressman Dies and his Committee in some new shell game. The Pilot apparently is lacking in its sense of civic duty since it has failed to warn the naively unsuspecting Congressional Committee against the Machievellian plans of . . . one . . . Peter J. Innes, Jr.!

The record shows Peter J. Innes *was co-oped to serve on the Seamen's Defense Committee after the Spring strike*. A dance called, "The Firemen's Shindig" was held on July 11, 1936, at the Manhattan Lyceum, the proceeds of which were intended to help the firemen carry on their election fight. Innes acted as the secretary-treasurer for this affair as the letters signed jointly by he and Curran testify. Another letter from Innes to the NMU counsel, Wm. Standard, shows there was money in the bank from that affair.

Immediately after the dance Innes shipped out on the President Taft, leaving all the records in a hopeless muddle. It was later revealed through their letters, that Curran had *advised Innes to ship to the West Coast*, although neither told the Party of their plan. Innes resigned, in a letter to Curran, as a co-oped member of the Seamen's Defense Committee. Curran never disclosed this letter to the rest of the committee. However, a true copy of the original is made known here for the first time. The text of the letter reads:

July 13th, 1936

Joseph Curran, Chairman,
Seamen's Defense Committee,
Dear Brother Curran:—

Due to other pressing business, I find that I will no longer be able to participate actively, as a Co-oped member of the SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE, as Clearance Clerk.

For that reason I hereby tender my resignation, effective immediately.

You have my assurance that I will always have the Rank and File movement at the fore in all my thoughts and actions regardless of where I am at and hope to be able to take active part in the future in any and all action that that movement may take.

Faternally yours,

Peter J. Innes Jr.,
MFOW No. 12999.

Accordingly Innes made the Atlantic Coast triangle and returned to New York whereupon Curran instructed him to proceed to the West Coast and get off there.

He arrived in San Francisco, August 16, on the President Taft, and reported to Earl King, then secretary of the Pacific MFOW & W. He was in turn introduced to the various District Council No. 2 officials of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, also to the ISU unions in San Francisco, as well as to the SUP. Operating confidentially for Curran, he attended sessions of the various meetings as fraternal delegate until the strike was officially declared on the night of October 28, 1936. He was seated then—still acting in his undercover capacity—as a member of the West Coast Strike Policy Committee, consisting of representatives from all ports. He was given full voice and vote on all matters affecting the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts.

The foregoing was taken from the official records and these facts differ considerably from the implications offered by Pilot stories which avow, "Innes appeared from nowhere and insinuated himself into strike affairs." Though disclaiming any knowledge of him, the fact is, Innes handled many business deals for the Pilot on the West Coast.

Reports returned from the West that Innes was acting out there for all East Coast seamen, and the firemen, still angry over the manner in which he abandoned the dance affair, objected to Secretary Phillips (MFOW). It was evident that Curran and Innes had "crossed the wires" since Party members, too, were writing East objecting to Innes' leadership. Phillips and King, speaking for the MFOW demanded to know from Curran—Striking East Coast Seamen's Chairman—just who did Innes represent. Curran evasively replied, "He hadn't appointed him and didn't know who had."

The letters following in this volume *completely expose Curran as a liar!*

It will be recollected, too, the firemen were then functioning independently with their own hall at 215 10th Ave., under the leadership of Phillips and King. The Party, with only Byne (who was not regarded too highly in Party circles) in a key position among the firemen, was attempting to strengthen its hold there. Curran, too, as his letters reveal, was irked because of his inability to dictate to the "black-gang" members.

Curran tried hard to fulfill his promises to make Innes West Coast agent for the firemen, but he was unsuccessful since the MFOW never did officially designate

WE ACCUSE

Innes as their representative on the West Coast. Early in the Fall-Winter strike it grew evident Curran was intent, mainly, on ensuring his own position in the field (as his letters disclose), and that he was more than willing to line up with anyone guaranteeing this assurance.

(In reply please refer to
Personal Communication
Number 2.)

New York,
Feb. 17th. 1936.

Harry Lundberg,
Secretary, SUPAC.
59 Clay Street,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Lundberg:

I would like to have some information as to how I can go about obtaining an S.U.P.E.C. book or transferring into the S.U.P.E.C. The I.S.U. of course will under no circumstances reinstate me or the others who were expelled for participating in the recent strike here.

At present I am unable to leave here and go out to the Coast and go through the regular procedure of reinstatement. As much as I would like to do this at the present time I realize that I am handicapped with the weight of work and responsibility which has been thrust on my shoulders by the Rank and File membership here who trust me to carry on the very necessary work ashore here. However, I would like to have the dope on what I have to do to become admitted to the S.U.P.E.C.; that is always taking into consideration the fact that I am eligible for membership in a real Union like the S.U.P.E.C.

At present I'm like a man without a country. The big howl here by the shipowners and the fakars is that Joe Curran is not a Union man and therefore the men should not listen to anything I say. This condition causes certain of the "weaker-sisters" to sway away from the Rank and File movement here and I would like to overcome it.

I do not ask that you join me up through any irregular channel; but merely ask you to tell me whether or not I am acceptable in the S.U.P.E.C. and what I have to do to transfer. I still have my E & G S A book in my possession as you know I was expelled without benefit of even a mock trial as the faking officials indulge in here, consequently, I still have the book.

Knowing this matter will receive your favorable attention and consideration, I remain,

Faternally yours,

708-1560

Joseph Curran, E.&G.S.A. #5490.
Remembering "An injury to one is
an injury to all."

Copy of Curran's request for admission to SUP

He cautiously refrained⁵ from antagonizing the Party since he feared them and certainly did not want to place his "pork chops" in jeopardy. On July 17, 1936, Curran wrote Harry Lundeborg begging admittance into the SUP.

Scarcely two weeks later Curran wrote Innes telling him to instruct all and sundry on the Coast . . . that the name of Joseph Curran would not in the future, be signed by rubber stamps, but that it would be signed *with a genuine pen* "by none other than himself!" He instructed Innes to find out what had become of his letter to Lundeborg and closed by advising what to reply when the "phonies" said that . . . "this man, Curran, is not a union man."

Complaining bitterly in his letter to confidential agent Innes, on August 23, 1936, he declared that *the Party had ruined everything*. His precious "pork chops" were in danger! Those "nasty" firemen wouldn't let him horn into their affairs, and as he was concerned, he was ready to fold up the Seamen's Defense Committee,

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164-11th AVENUE

New York City

IN REPLY REFER TO I/100P

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

JULY 31, 1936.
NEW YORK CITY.

PETER INNES:

I.C. REPRESENTATIVE.

SEAMENS DEFENCE COMMITTEE.

BROTHER INNES:

OPING THIS LETTER FINDS YOU SAFE AT YOUR DESTINATION AND WELL I WILL GIVE YOU YOUR INSTRUCTIONS AS BRIEFLY AS POSSIBLE, YOU WILL EXPLAIN THE EXACT STATUS OF THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE IN THE EAST COAST AND THE NECESSITY OF CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE COAST AND US IN THE EAST.

* FIND OUT IF YOU CAN WHY WE HAVE TO DATE RECEIVED NO COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE FEDERATION OR THE S.U.P. YOU WILL ALSO TELL ALL AND SUNDRY THAT THE NAME OF JOSEPH CURRAN WILL NOT BE SIGNED IN STAMPS BUT WITH A GENUINE PEN BY MYSELF.

TRY TO GET SOME TIME ON THE COUNCIL FLOOR TO OUTLINE THE PROGRAM OF THE EAST COAST RANK AND FILE IN THE MATTER OF THE FINK BOOK AND HOW IT IS MOST NECESSARY THAT WE WORK IN CLOSE HARMONY IF WE WANT TO DEFEAT THIS BILL.

BE VERY SURE THAT YOU FIND OUT THE PLANS OF THE COAST IN CONNECTION WITH SEPTEMBER SO THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO CONJUNCT THE WORKTRY TO FIND OUT WHAT BECAME OF THE LETTER THAT WAS SENT BY MYSELF TO THE S.U.P. ASK EG FOR INFORMATION ABOUT GETTING A BOOK IN THE S.U.P. IT WILL BE YOUR JOB TO EXPLAIN THAT THE PHONEYS ARE SAYING THAT THIS MAN CURRAN IS NOT A UNION MAN AND THAT LOYAL UNION MEN SHOULD NOT LISTEN TO ME. YOU WILL RECEIVE MORE INSTRUCTIONS FROM TIME TO TIME. BE SURE AND RESPOND TO ALL OUR LETTERS IMMEDIATELY.

TAKE GOOD CARE OF YOURSELF AT ALL TIMES. LUCK..

YOURS FRATERALLY

JOSEPH CURRAN

THE BALTIMORE VOTES HAVE JUST BEEN COUNTED AND THEY ARE TERRIBLE ABOUT FIFTY TO ONE AGAINST US BUT WE STILL HAVE HOPES.

703-10PM

Curran letter to confidential agent on West Coast

that is . . . provided he could find some other nice pie-card. He instructed Innes to shop around a little bit out on the Coast and see if he couldn't find something for him.

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164-11th AVENUE

New York City

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675



Aug. 23, 1936.
New York City

Dear Pete:

I have written you one letter today and I forgot a few things so I am writing them now after carefully studying the situation here today. I find that we have nothing but a lot of Factional fights everybody is fighting for leadership. and no one is helping the real fight the M. F. O. W. Fight is terrible the elected officials Byrne & Phillips have no guts and are being led along by parties out for their own ends. Whelan is a sort of Chief and does a lot of talking. Mubbenis also does a lot of talking and no one does any constructive work. they had a meeting tonight at the M. F. O. W. Hall on Lenox ave and I had to tell them about the size of the job they were undertaking and how the entire Marine industry was on them and that they better get to work right. Today they couldn't get enough Quimen together to keep Carlson from getting all the Records out of the office on West St. so you see there is too much Talk and no Action, if we couldn't

ifight we might as well fold up. I intend to take up the question of Disbanding the Defense Committee altogether as they are getting further and further away from the Union. the Sup. I made to the Gulf was great they down there are really fighting and then I have to come home to a faction fight here all the time it is disgusting I want you to take up the question of me coming out to the Coast and staying there as I frankly do not believe there is anything new as I believe the C.P. have broken all our chances up. see if you can get the Federation and the Sup. to bring me out on the Basis of the Frank Book Campaign and write all your letters and wires to 460 W 23rd St. N.Y. And I trust this letter as Confidential.

Fraternally Yours
Joe Curran

703-~~RECEIVED~~

Curran admits CP control of Seamen's Defense Committee

A little later, in September, his feelings had changed towards the SUP and he delegated Innes to the job of tracing down the letter sent to Lundeberg asking about an SUP book. Undoubtedly his feelings in the matter were materially influenced by the Communist Party which had noticeably cooled towards Lundeberg by this time. As Curran said in his letter he had received certain information about Lundeberg from Bridges; he then indicated very clearly the dogma he was sympathetic with. He told Innes to forget about the SUP membership book.

His September 25 letter revealed that Curran was more than nervous over the whispering campaign the Party was circulating about him. Curran had been meeting Joe Ryan secretly. It can be flatly stated here that . . . had Ryan been able to offer him a satisfactory "proposition," Curran would have gone over to the Ryan camp at this time. However, the Party suspected Curran and took steps to keep him in line with them, also, to reduce his rapidly "swelling head."

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

703-~~1254~~164—11th AVENUE
New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

Sept 17, 1936.
New York City.Peter Innes
West Coast Rep.
Seamens Defense Committee.

Dear Sir And Brother:

Well sir in spite of the fact that you have sent plenty of minutes and miscellaneous news back to us, you haven't sent me any news about yourself or some of the things I asked you to look up for me.

The photos you sent back of the labor day parade showed that you were working very hard and I can see that we sent the right man out there the only thing of course that I regret is that we have not been able to support you properly, I am making every effort to have you appointed as the west coast agent for the M.F.O.W. here but there seems to be a concerted effort on someones side to keep you from entering the picture as anything at all. But we managed to break down some of this concealed animosity against you and have now ¹/₄ believe managed to have them send you some sort of credentials but I will fight to have you made west coast representative for them.

Now I want to give you a tip on how you can help you will go to the firemens meeting there and ask them to bring pressure on the M.F.O.W. here and that will do the trick as they here are afraid that you will be in a jurisdictional fight, if they do give you there support send me a copy of the letter because the firemen here are getting secretive and holding out on me,

There is a great amount of excitement here because of the arrival of Harry Bridges they had a conference of the I.L.A. and Bridges made a good speech on the situation but Ryan had the stooge Mogrady there to offset any sympathy that Bridges might gain as he is deathly afraid of the....

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE
New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

Sept. 17, 1936.

#2

Peter Innes-2

popularity that BRidges has gained here and then there is the convention coming with the question of a new national presiden to be elected for the I.L.A. so you can see which way the wind is blowing, I am having a conference with BRidges today and we will straighten out anything that may not be as clear as he wants it.

Now about Oct 1 we want you to send us as much dope on the possibillitys of strike action there as you know howmuch it means to us to be kept up on the news.

We just got through having atalk with Harry BRidges about how things are on the coast and he tells us quite some stories about certain parties on the coast now you go to work and get me all the informationthat you can get. well so long and be sure to writen soon.

<And as an afterthought Harry BRidges said you were a very good man and this is a good recommendation for any man.>

In the M.F.O.W. the situation is pretty good right now Carlson appealed to the Federal courts and a decision will be handed down pretty soon and when it comes I will wire you. The B&F delegates are getting aboard practically every ship exept of course the I.M.M. so you can see we are getting someplace now.

Fraternally Yours

Joseph Curran
Joseph Curran

703-1050

Harry Bridges-Joe Curran endorsement of Peter J. Innes

The well-oiled Party machine smashed into action. Whispers were spread that Curran was a big dope; he was a "1934 fink;" and was any one of those choice and juicy appellations the Party usually reserves for its enemies. Harry Bridges came East and left without speaking to this great "leader" of the East Coast rank and file. First slighted, then fearful, Curran felt the chilling "Communist blight" and frantically hastened to correct this.

In September he also wrote a letter to Innes that he knew would be "circulated," in which he declared he had spoken to Ryan. Ryan seemed to regard him as his friend which made everything lovely. The stage was all set, and Innes was

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

Sept. 1936.
New York City

Peter Innes

ear Pete:

I just got your letter today and was glad to hear from you to bad we are unable to finance you in your excellent fight but I am of the opinion that the firemen are sadly deficient in their work you say that you have not heard from them yet well you have nothing on me I am a million miles from them myself.

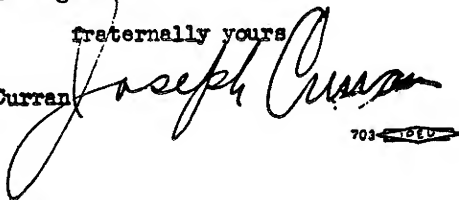
It was great to read about what good work you are doing on the fink book subject at least someone in the firemens union is usefull to us anyway.

Now a few words in regards to the longshoremens situation here you may have heard that they are going out after a west coast agreeme nts but they have elected a wages scale committee to negotiate a new wage scale and it looks like they will get what they are asking for as they are really asking for nothing more than they had before and I was speaking to Joe Ryan no the subject of the federation and he seemed to be amenable to it and on the subject of Bridges having a conference with him this seems to be out exopt that he told me that he was willing to send two men off the committee on wages to a neutral spot HE says Chigago for a conference that is about all that I have o on yhtis subject right now only it seems as if I will be able to see Joe Ryan at any time so that is something he seems to regard me as his freind so we will leave it like that for the present and you may tell Harry Bridges that anything I am Able to do for him here I will be only to glad to do.

Youn havent given us a very clear picture of what is going o on in the sailors union today we are very anxious to hear all about what is taking place here so we will know how to proceed in the near future see if you cant get all the information that you can as it is most important now yo keep up the work out there we will be seeing you soon I will write again soon

fraternally yours

Joseph Curran



703-1000

Curran offers to "sell out" Joe Ryan

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

703—~~IOEU~~

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON SECRETARY

New York City
Sept. 25, 1936.Mr. Peter Innes:
W.C. Representative.

Dear Sir And Brother:

I received your letter of the 21st. and it was a welcome letter as I was beginning to think that you had forgotten where I lived. As for sending you any letters lately I have been very busy with a lot of things and as you know Harry Bridges has been here and I have been talking with him and Ryan and then we had a strike on the s/s Penmar for recognition of the M.F.O.W. in Philadelphia so you see we are very busy here.

You are certainly accomplishing a great deal of work out there but then I knew you would be the logical one to work out there, you monkey, but let us get on with the dope.

The M.F.O.W. as you know is again in court and the judge a notorious reactionary is trying to pull afast one but he knows he cant get away with it so now he advances this argument. He says that the two factions shall come to an agreement on a new election or he will give an injunction against the R&F officials to the foneys, so you see we are in a spot but the agreement that we are willing to come in on is as follows.

If there is to be a new election the officials that are now in Philips And BINE stay in while the voting is going on and their agents and delegates in every port carry on as usual with the provision that for every delegate that Carlson has they are to have one to they are to go aboard ships together and bring the ballots aboard and the ballots are to be turned in every night to the bank and the voting is to be carried on until at least three thousand have voted. You can see the licking that they will take if they sign this agreement and it will stop them for once and all. Frankly I do not beleive the phoneys will sign as we made the stipulation that the international must also sign it so that they are involved and cant pull anything phoney the judge will not be back until monday so we do not know as yet whether it will be signed the membership is in favor of this as in the meantime we are up against the fact that the shipowners are playing with the foneys and we cant get on the ships. but there is a bit of good news for you here there were two firemens delegates of the foneys very nicely dumped so things are not so bad the firemen on the ships will not pay them any dues and are chasing them ashore, so you can see things are not so bad here.

In Baltimore things are good for us the firemen threw out bly and we have the situation well in hand the only fly in the ointment there is that it is a joint hall and we cannot take it over but we have a hall right next to it and all the R&F come up there so everyting is alright in the gulf Macquistion is taking the halls in New Orleans and other ports so all in all I would say we are not doing badly.

Now about yourself being the real delegate on the coast I have at last been able to convince the officials that they must send you proper credentials and I beleive you will have them very shortly so that is that.

What you tell me about the setup on the coast doesnt surprise

Over.....

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

#2

Peter Innes

Me as I already got it from Bridges about The S.U.P. and as I write this letter we just got a letter from Lundberg asking for support from the east coast in the event of a lockout, well it is noy for him that we will support but for the membership as a whole for him, to question the spirit of the R&F here we have voted to go all the way with the coast so there is nothing much to worry about on that score so you can tell Lundberg for me that as far as he is concerned we will be there when the whistle blows.

Now about the book in the S.U.P. you can forget about it as I am having great difficulty in getting the Grace Line to give me my time in the shoregang as they say it is too hard to check it up, right now but as far as 34 is concerned I have been cleared for that already and they have the record of it there in frisco. THEY know that I was in Africa at the time and didn't get back until July 15. Well any way kid we are holding a big masmeeting here tonight and we expect a big crowd there it has been well advertised so we ought to get some response from the longshoremen it is on the coming strike and the question of what type of action we are going to take I will let you know the news as I get it.

Now about the march or convention in Washington I am in favor of it 100% but you know the men they are all enthused over anything but when the time comes they are not there I would not like to make elaborate plans and then have them go up in smoke as it would not help us but we will work on it right along to see if we cannot do something about it.

You will go to Bridges and ask him as a matter of course you know how to do it why he left without speaking to me after he had said he would see me before he went and you will also ask whether the rumor that I now hear that he said that I was lined up with Joe Ryan is true and if the rumor is true you tell him that it is a lie the only reason I even went near Ryan was to help him. Well kid I hope you are successful in your work as M.F.O.W. delegate but remember you still represent us here be sure to send me all the news on the business even to wiring me collect as it is very important that we get the news. So lo g kid.

Fraternally Yours

Joseph Curran

Curran denies CP whispering campaign

to tell Bridges that Curran was all ready to give Ryan the "business" whenever he got the word. This explanation apparently fell flat for Curran again wrote Innes telling him to go to Bridges, as he phrased it . . . "you know how to do it" . . . and tell him it was all a lie!

Curran was very sensitive about his record as a union man during that period. He had joined the ISU—Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Assn., in May 1935. Prominent

mention was being given to the fact that Curran had only been a union man a few short months before the Spring strike. That this was true galled him considerably.

In later years, when trying to give himself a union background, he claimed he had been a member of the MWIU. This was a lie! However, since the MWIU was completely a Communist organization, it should not be difficult for the Party to "fix" up a properly aged book for him—if they ever cared to permit Curran to establish the validity of this claim. Nevertheless when his record was attacked, as it was repeatedly, Innes loyally carried out Joe's instructions to explain about Joe's being a union man. Below is the text of a sample of the leaflets Innes dutifully distributed when the heat was on.

Here's Joe's! Where's Yours?

In order to stop the disruptive rumors floating around the various waterfronts, allow me to quote the following from the August 7, 1936 issue of the "PILOT":

"For the benefit of the few seamen who may be confused by certain individuals in the top employ of top officials and shipowners, we'll answer another SLIMY RUMOR which hirelings of these octopuses have been circulating. In order to split the ranks of the RANK & FILE movements which are going places and doing things, even beyond the expectations of the most optimistic, a barrage of lies in the form of rumors and so-called "Rank and File" leaflets have been turned loose against the Seamen's Defense Committee, and especially Joe Curran, its Chairman.

One of the charges is that Joe Curran was on the "VIRGINIA" and "SANTA PAULA" during the 1934 strike.

A lie like this, since it can easily be proven as such, defeats its own purpose and needs no defense. However, for the benefit of seamen in other ports, we publish the following record of Joe:

From May 1st to July 14th, 1934 he served on the "CITY OF NEW YORK" running from N. Y. to South Africa; July 17th to August 10th, he worked in the shore gang for Grace Line in New York; August 15th to December 18th he served on the "SANTA CLARA" running to South America, from which he was fired for union activities—fighting for overtime, to be exact.

The only trip Joe made on the "VIRGINIA" was on December 29th, 1934 to February 4th, 1935. On December 25th Joe got his clearance in 'Frisco after presenting the above certified record.

This is A B C anyone can check this record. EVERY COMMITTEE MEMBER'S PAPERS ARE OPEN FOR INVESTIGATION"

WE WONDER IF THOSE SCABBY CHARACTERS WHO CIRCULATE THE SCABBY RUMORS CAN SAY THE SAME.

For anyone's further information—Brother Joe Curran is still the CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT MARINE STRIKE COUNCIL FOR THE ATLANTIC AND GULF COASTS. He has been working steadily and earnestly for our best interests regardless of his health or remuneration. We seamen still acknowledge him as our LEADER, as he represents and says that which each and every one of us would do and say individually if we had the opportunity.

REGARDLESS OF THE SCANDAL MONGERS AND DISRUPTERS, JOE—

WE ACCUSE

WE ARE STILL BEHIND YOU AND THE STRIKE COUNCIL 100% CARRY ON!!!!

Signed (PETER J. INNES JR)

MFOW Atlantic Dist.

BALTIMORE MD. Jan. 13th.

The Union Sulphur Co. signed up today to full West Coast Demands!!!!
THE MARCH TO WASHINGTON IS ON!!!!

Contingents have left the various ports headed for the Capitol. A picket line has been maintained for the past week, at the Department of Commerce Building in Washington.

HAVE YOU GOT YOUR COPY OF THE NEW "PILOT"? NOW ON SALE AT VARIOUS NEWSSTANDS AROUND TOWN

READ THE PILOT

Publicity Department

Striking members, ISU

Atlantic and Gulf

[Sic].

Seeking to quell persisting rumors, Curran adopted a sterner vein in a November 2 letter to Innes wrongly dated October 2. He requested that Bridges be advised the New York World-Telegram had referred to him in the headlines as "*Joe Curran Adored by the Seamen.*" He asserted the East Coast seamen were indignant over the attacks against him and that further attacks might prove fatal to the movement as a whole.

On October 2nd Curran wrote Innes, giving a roundup of the day's developments. In this letter, which was without a seal, he pointed out he had written it at home, and quoted a footnote by which Innes might determine whether or not letters bearing his name without the Defense Committee seal were genuine. In addition to this Curran's postscript, in his own handwriting, directs Innes where to look for a secret stamping inside the envelope, "so you will know they are from me confidential."

The exact text of the letter follows: [Quote]:

(Stamped): 4 Oct. 1936. Rec'd. Pacific Coast Marine, F.O.W.T. & W. Assn.
Seamen's Defense Committee
164—11th Avenue, New York City
Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

Joseph Curran, Chairman

Ralph Emerson, Secretary
New York City, Oct. 2, 1936.

Peter Innes,

W. C. Rep.

Brother: I will begin by telling you that a great victory has been won by the rank and file, the show of strength that went on here in New York the last three days convinced everyone that the Hunter crowd does not control anyone.

We will take the *Roosevelt* first on Wednesday the crew of that ship came off at sailing time 100% and when I say that I mean even the cooks who had been on there for 10 years it was great then they went on the picket line right away well the result of this was that the ship layed at the dock and the passengers sailed on english ships the company was fruit and so was the judge but they were convinced that we were stalling no more and Macarthy of the I. M. M. in a conversation with me said that they would lay up all the ships and let the Gov't sail them I told him that this would be good as maybe we would get some place then.

The *Pennsy* was next and she sat down 100% to well the Judge Hulbert who was trying to stall for the foneys suddenly realised that we meant business and said that if the *Roosevelt*

was allowed to sail he would see that an agreement was worked out this of course was to find out who controlled the men as he stated that the way things were it looked like no one controlled the men, So we said that we would let go as evidence of our good faith but that we would hold the *Pennsy* And the *Trader* fast and that if there wasnt an agreement friday when the *Trader* was due to sail we would hold her and that if there was no agrrement by Sat. morning at 9 a. m. we would pull every ship on the cost, let me remind you that every ship was clamoring to sit down by this time and it would have been to bad for them.

Well this morning at ten they started to negotiate again and as they started the Finkiest ship of the lot the *Manhattan* after I had sent a letter aboard prmoising them that they would be respected on the street and we would forget the past if the cooperated set down 100% well this broke the ice Hunter signed the agreement at 6:30 P.M. after we had held up the *Trader* and the Co. had lost all the passengers and he must have felt like a baloon well on the strength of what we see here we dont need any ballots for action on th 15th they are ready to faall of if they hear from me.

About the stipulations of the agreement you will get them complete as soon as Emerson fixes them up it is a victory that means the end of the foneys for once and all. you may tell them on the coast that the East coast is only waiting for the signal to go and that is all.

In your case Jerry King who together with others is now a delegate here tells me to let you know that you are all right out there and they will see that you get your money even if it is unofficial What a victory I just cant get over the fact that the Loyal Union ships are the ones that killed them. You remember the sailors delegate Clipborg well he is betting that within a month the expelled members including myself will be reinstated with full honors so you can see that the foneys are on their last legs now. The defense committee has sure been busy lately we are now officially recognised as the ruling faction and the foneys dont know what to say in their next edition of the suppmnt. there is only one thing that mars our victory and that is that I am afraid that we are up against another clique, let us hope not.

Innes be sure to give us all the dope as fast as you get it out there on the coast as we will be depending on you while we go ahead on the fight against the foneys in the sailors union next.

We are having a meeting tomorrow night with a brother who has money with the idea of getting him to finance a trip to the coast for me of course this is only tentative as we are not sure yet. What kind of a reception do you think I would get if I came out there let me know by wire if you think it is a good idea as I think I should get out there to clear up a few points and at the same time let them see me so that they will know me and we can get acquainted before we start to build the National Maritime Federation.

well so long Pete old boy give my regards to all the boys and the boys and the mrs send you theirs from here Emerson will send you the details of the victory, and heres hoping it wont be long before we are all in a clean I.S.U. again so we can show them shipowners who we are you know that this is a duoble victory for me because the victims were the I.M.M. my old enemy we actually tied their biggest ships right fast to the dock and they thought this was impossible it is great as it makes my score against them one up from last spring and I wish you could see the expression on the face of Macarthy when he said I was at the bottom of the whole thing.

write soon

Fraternally Yours

Joseph Curran.

When I write then From Home. there will be no seal on them but I will always have this footnote on them (Joe).

"Yours for unity and greater harmony between the Coasts and On to a national Maritime Federation"

(In ink:) Joseph Curran.

If any letters come out there for me with this stamp on them they are not genuine look on the inside of every envelope noe and you will see this stamp that is so you will know they are from me confidential (Sic) [Unquote]

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

703 ~~IPED~~

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

Oct 2, 1936.
New York City

Peter Innes

Brother: Well I will try to tell you some of the things that have happened since I returned here from Frisco.

I arrived just in time to address a good meeting of a thousand seamen and made a report on the situation on the west coast as it was when I left the sentiment at that meeting was such that I was sure that we need not worry about support for the west coast after the meeting we went to the headquarters of the defense committee and waited for the report that the coast was out when it came the place went wild and they immediately started to tie up ships but we managed to curb the excitement and set about calling a meeting to decide the course for us to follow at the Manhattan Lyceum at this meeting it was decided to await the meeting called by the phoneys in the Cooper Union Hall on Saturday and make them call the strike we made motions to be passed at this meeting to call a strike now I will tell you about that meeting.

It was called at seven o'clock and they had all the phoneys there Grange, Hunter and the rest along with a few AFL fakers to talk the boys out of a strike they barred me and a lot of militant men from the meeting but the boys about fifteen hundred got on their feet right after the meeting started and demanded that Curran be let in but the phoneys kept right on talking making speeches of agreements and sacred contracts but the members found them out even the stooges fell away from them Grange tried to threaten the men but they laughed at him it was ridiculous then they finally walked out of the meeting without adjourning it and I came in the meeting got up and I roared for strike and for me to lead them well I took the strike vote and called another meeting for Sunday to make policy and to elect the strike committee at this meeting of over a thousand we elected nine men to the strategy committee Curran Lannon Skogman Firemen, Mulderig, Laurenson, Seanan, Stewards, Jones, MacCarthy, with Smith is a colored man and a good one to, then we went about the work of starting the strike on the sitdown basis and what success we are having can be seen the Virginia is laid up the Manhattan is cancelled the eastern lines are strike bound and any number of others the port is tied up completely the men with one accord are sitting down as soon as they come in the only thing that looked bad was the policy of allowing the west coast ships return home for a day so it looked very bad but that is cleared up now and we move ahead and now it looked as if the coast is to be completely tied up the sit down strike has them all fooled they cannot put scabs on any of them the other ports are continuously calling in that they are tying them up so the response far exceeds the expectations that we had and Joe Ryan took the attitude that he would kick the seamen off the waterfront in the beginning but the storm is too much for him and he has withdrawn into his shell and now makes statement from the cellar that his men will remain on the job but they can't work where there is no work and the laugh is on him.

All I can say is that the only ones that are against this strike are Grange and Hunter and even the N.Y.B.A. in New York is cooperating with us and things look good here no violence and the morale is high the men are registering so fast that we had two thousand men in two hours and we are not picketing only in a few minor cases

November letter wrongly dated October 2, 1936

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2673

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

#2 Peter Innes

Where it is necessary but in almost all cases the shipowners are supporting the strikers so what we do not of course know when they will put them off but we are ready for that to the company's appealed to Hunter and he said there was nothing he could do as the minority had control of the union.

Let us hope that the pressure is enough as we see a complete tie up of all coasts within a week and then a general strike is the result and it will be a strike to the death with the strongest the winner you may tell the men on the strike committee that this coast is working in close harmony with them and we hope for success for the west coast unions our only demand is that the shipowners settle the strike with the west coast unions and we have wired the President and the Labor Dept. of this we are conducting a petition among the membership on this coast for the expulsion of the executive board for its action the entire membership is up in arms against them and we hope the end is near for them. Well so far everything is going along alright but it is a tremendous situation here on this coast right now and who can tell where it will go. (I picked up a Voice of the Federation here with a column in it that is raising hell with the men here they are sore as hell at the column that runs me down and it will not increase the circulation because I will give you the reason the World Telegram refers to me in a headline as Joe Curran Adored by the Seamen and you can see from this that the men don't like that story it is in the Rank and Filers column you better tell Bridges to get them to stop peddling that stuff as the men are talking about it all over the waterfront and it is not good policy for the movement as a whole it will have to be stopped soon well Pete good luck to you and keep up the good work while we work back here the Industrial Shipyard Workers are working with us now 100% so we are moving give my regards to the boys and thanks for the help in the change of policy which had us worried for a while see you soon say hello to Bridges for me and give him our vote of confidence.

Joe Curran

Solid Unity must exist between the coasts for victory

Walter Innes

703-~~CEU~~

Curran "admits" seamen adore him—Note he dated letter wrongly—meeting was held October 31, 1936—The letter was written Nov. 2, 1936

On October 8, 1936, Curran became Innes "best friend"—at least he signed the letter so. He was still "mad" at the firemen with the exception of Jerry King whom he evidently was planning to use in some way. The record shows only too plainly what Curran was in the habit of doing to his "friends."

In this communication, however, Curran flatly showed his knowledge of the Communist Party's hand on the waterfront. He told Innes that "the Communist Party had about gotten control of everything with Tommy Ray director of opera-

tions in New York. But on the whole, things were not too bad. . . .” Evidently, the Party had recently promised Mr. Curran a corner . . . on the “pork chop” market! as he was in good spirits.

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

703—106 U

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

New York City
Oct. 8, 1936

Peter L. Innes
W.C. Rep.
Seamens Defense Comm.
Dear Brother.

I am now in a position to tell you of the events that have transpired here for the last few days the M.F.O.W. is now pretty well straightened out all the progressive delegates have passes to board the ships and it looks like the foneys are on the way out they are now importing the gulf beef squad to take over New York but they have as much chance of getting anywhere here as a snow ball in hell.

The rank and file are so strong here now that we don't know how the fakers are able to convince the members that they amount to anything at all. At the sailors meeting the other night the sailors gave Gus Brown the worst night he has had in years so you see we are going places here now all you can hear around here is when is the west coast going out so that they can go out to there was a good demonstration of how we stand when the Manhattan sat down 100% .

How are the M.F.O.W. treating you out there on the coast I want to tell you how things are going here with us the defense committee is working hard but there is one thing that is hurting us is that the men on the ships are forgetting to put in any money and as a result we are in debt it looks as if they expect this committee to function without their help but as you know that is of course impossible so I do not know how things are going to turn out here the men that were expelled last spring are being reinstated one by one so far to day Fitzsimmons was reinstated and is on the Southern Cross. I am going down to the hall and see if they will not accept my dues and ask them why I was expelled and why the others are in and I am still out they are going to be glad to get us all in because if they don't they will not have many members left. Gus Brown said that those that were expelled would never get back in while he owns the union.

I had to lay this letter over for two days so that we could go up into Marcantonios district and help him out the seamen responded pretty well and it looks like we might be able to get him back into Congress again. I just got your letter today in which you tell me about the situation out there I don't think there will be any arbitration we hope that the I.L.A. will stick with the rest but we know they will the I.L.A. here has not signed any agreements and they won't until the West coast I.L.A. gets theirs so on the whole I hope you will tell them not to compromise on anything as I am of the opinion that we are in a position for a showdown with the shipowners. It is a cinch with the UNITY we now have we will never have a better opportunity to humble the shipowners. In regards to the interview with the Maritime Commission they were evasive on most of the questions that we asked such as who is going to investigate the living conditions and etc. they are another piece of outfit set up to help the shipowner we asked them what they would do in the event the seamen refused to accept the fink book and were locked out as a result

Peter Innes #2

Wiley who looks like an old senile clam said that if we had any influence with the seamen we should go back and advise them not to strike against

this book as it would protect the seamen from harm at the hands of the shipowners. some joke eh!.

We met Hunter as we went in to see them and it looked like he was there to set the trap for us and that reminds me Lundberg must have been in town at the same time that we appeared at the Commission and he never even told us he was coming to this coast well it goes along with the rest of his policy I guess.

Your note about the Virginia was something that I never suspected I thought that ship was alright but I guess that we were mistaken and we will see that something is done about it when she gets here and I think with the forces that are here we will take care of it pretty well.

Now about the resans that I am not at this time able to go to the coats the main reason of course is the lack of finance and the closeness of the fifteenth we had a man that was willing to finance me to a bus ride but that takes five days and five nights of continuous riding and the time element involved makes it impossible and the flying part of course is out because it costs to much 300 dollars round trip and we have no money anyway so it is out until the fifteenth anyway I am very much disapointed because I beleive it would have been the best thing possible for all of us.

I am going to see that you get a money sent to you if it is at all possible I know what you are up against there on the coast and the firmer men here now with the exception of Jerry King are all piecards rthey have credentials from Hunter and they think they are big shots now the C.P.s. have about got control of the outfit now with Tommy Ray director of operations here in New York but things are not bad on the whole

Let me know how the Copeland bill fight is going on there on the coast it is going great here we have about ten thousand pledges signed here and the bill is being well explained so it looks alright here but we dont hear anything about the fight on the coast dont allow it to be submerged in the other things as it is to important to us all.

Your Pilot was sent out right after it came off the press so you ought to get it soon Now Pete you are going to have two Calmar ships out there soon the Almar AND the Texmar they will consult with you as per the letter I sent to them they want to do something or other so you will take care of them as they are good boys I think now dont worry about the Virginia and try to rest a little as we cant afford to have you collapse on us . Until I hear from you .

Your best freind

Yours Fraternally

Joseph Curran
Joseph Curran

"On to a National Maritime Federation" To this end we dedecate our work"

P.S. No seal written at Home.

703-1000

Curran states CP controls waterfront—Names Ray as directing Party operations

Note: It must be borne in mind when reading Curran's letters reproduced here that: He was in 1936 unfamiliar with typewriters. He wrote them secretly at home without aid from stenographer. He has learned and improved since then and today could compose much better letters if he had to write them at home without any aid.

IX THE INNES FRAME-UP

THE record as revealed shows that Innes was faithful and completely loyal to "his best friend" and that he carried out his confidential assignments to the best of his ability. Curran and the Party "crucified" Innes later and he was rewarded by expulsion from the union for 99 years after being featured in the Pilot. The facts in this case, however, *do* repudiate the scurrilous lies carried from time to time in the Pilot. As they stand neither Curran nor the Party can deny their former close association with Peter J. Innes, Jr.

Among other things, the letters disclose the fact that Innes was trusted to the extent whereby *he was detailed to call out the East Coast on strike* via coded messages for the Fall-Winter strike of '36-'37 as witness the following letters.

Detailed reports and letters from Innes further expose the lies peddled to the NMU membership in the Pilot.

What has been done to Innes by the Party was to be expected. That is the coin in which the Party pays off all its obligations to the individual when his usefulness is ended. A part and parcel of their grand swindle!

What Curran has done to Innes, his former "best friend" and staunch defender, is, however, something that cannot be glossed over in the same fashion. No more bitter an indictment of a man's character could be built against any man, by even a "Dewey," than the record which exposes Curran's unscrupulous double-cross of Innes.

The record shows that shortly before the middle of the strike the Party had begun shooting for Innes' scalp. Comrade Kay read a letter at a strike strategy meeting on the West Coast, while Innes was absent, which claimed Innes was discredited and recalled by headquarters in the East. A telegram from secretary Van Etten to Pete Innes bared this and the manner in which it was accomplished. Van Etten also sent wires to New York requesting information on this. The occasion was shortly before the Madison Square Garden Rally on December 16. The East Coast men on strike in San Pedro were operating their own strike hall at the time. This was contrary to Party policy *which then wanted* the East Coast men under the jurisdiction of the West Coast committees.

That Kay's "letter" was part of a preconceived plan there can be no doubt. Jack Lawrenson immediately notified the East Coast men to place themselves under the West Coast jurisdiction in answering Van Etten's wire.

The latter, unsatisfied, wired Innes he wanted word from "JACY" (Joe Curran) before taking action. Following this Curran notified him that Innes was to carry on as before. Innes wired confirmation on the same date. After this was straightened out the Party was still definitely gunning for Innes. His star was on the wane. On January 24, 1937, a phone conversation between Curran and Innes was recorded in San Pedro which was indicative of what the Communists planned.

Office of

Pacific Coast M. F. O. Watertenders and Whippers Assn.

AFFILIATED WITH THE INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA

58 COMMERCIAL STREET 41 PHONE KEARNY 3690

San Francisco, Calif., Septemebr 29th 1936

MR. JOSEPH CURRAN, Chairman
Seamen's Defense Committee,
164 Eleventh Avenue,
New York City

Dear Joe:-

Have not heard fr m you or received any reply to my last two somewhat lengthy letters.

In this letter will cover the ground as to the way matters stand here this morning.

THE MARITIME COMMISSION HAS REQUESTED THAT ALL PARTIES AGREE TO A SIXTY DAY EXTENTION OF TIME ON THE PRESENT CONTRACTS. THE UNIONS LAST WEEK OFFERED A FIFTEEN DAY STAY AND STATED YESTERDAY THAT IN THE EVENT THAT THAT WAS NOT SUFFICIENT THAT THEY WOULD OFFER ANOTHER FIFTEEN DAYS. THE SHIPOWNERS WILL NOT AGREE TO ANY STAY UNLESSTHE UNIONS FIRST AGREE THAT ANY POINTS THAT ARE IN DISPUTE AFTER NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE SUBMITTED TO ARBITRATION. AS YOU KNOW THIS HAS BEEN THE CONTRAVERSIAL POINT RIGHT ALONG AS THERE ARE SOME POIN THAT THE UNIONS WILL NOT ARBITRATE SUCH AS HIRING FROM THE HALL PASSING THE A PICKET LINE. THEY AS I HAVE ALREADY INFORMED YOU HAVE STATED IN THE PRESS THAT THEY WILL NOT CALL THE HALLS TOMORROW BUT IF THE MEN WANT TO GO TO WORK THEY CAN COME TO THE DOCKS AND WORKS ON THE SHIPOWNERS TERMS. The pressure is being placed entirely on the IILA. Spoke to Bridges for 1/2 hour last night and says to inform you that the shipowners have a complete plan of action laid out and that it is going to take a fight of carefule study and stradegy to beat it. Any thing can happen the boards are still in session with Mc Grady and the situation here is quite tense. Will wire you as follows in the event of trouble and no other way. IF THERE IS A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT YOU WILL RECEIVE THE FOLLOWING WIRE "JOHN IS DEAD" If the continuance is granted "JOHN IS BETTER" Bridges also suggests that we arrange a code word to use in all correspondence that take place between us in the event of trouble and all other letters etc. from any one but the ones with the code word on it be ~~ign~~ ignored. Might I suggest that in the evnt of trouble you receive your mail at an all together different address and even under a different name and that the following code word be used as part of the first sentence in each and every letter that takes place between us. "UNITY". If you can think of something different let me know immediately. Enclosed as part of this letter you will find a copy of report sent to Phillips on the Isthmian Line ships of which there were three that had job action here.

Have had no letter from you since the 17th and I am getting anxious. Please let me hear from you at once in order that I will know if everything is OK.

With best wishes to you, the Mrs. and JoJo, I remain as ever your sincere friend,

Fraternally yours,

Peter J. Innes Jr.

795-1260

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

164—11th AVENUE

New York City

JOSEPH CURRAN, CHAIRMAN

Phone: WAtkins 9-2675

RALPH EMERSON, SECRETARY

Oct. 29, 1936.
New York City

Peter Innes:

I arrived just in time to attend a good meeting of 1000 seamen at the Manhattan Opera House. When I made the report from the coast they were all for taking a strike vote right there and setting up a strike committee there were twenty five ships crews there and it was a unanimous vote that we wait until the word came through at three a.m. and then we walk out the night was a nightmare I hadn't slept since leaving Frisco and there was no chance to get any as the men insisted that I stay awake and get the call the hall was packed all night and I don't mind telling you there was bitter disappointment on the faces of the boys here when we received the word that the negotiation comm. had postponed the strike. The Pres. Munroe sailed today at noon with a disgusted crew and three East coast ships sailed to.

The thing I want to impress upon you is that if there are many more of these postponements it will look pretty Phoney as the boys are pretty well disgusted that is not the way that we should do things it looks too much like the way the fakers used to do it the mandate from the membership was that if the demands were not met at midnight the 8th there would be a strike now we see after all the hollering about submitting everything back to the membership that the negotiating comm. takes the doubtful authority of postponing something they had no business doing. If we continue along this line we will have a strike of the negotiating committee only the men will not answer the call at all.

The phoneya are in a spot here on this coast now they cannot get even their own stooges to do their dirty work anymore it is getting so bad that even the delegates of the phoneya are attending the meetings of the rank and file at the meeting last night there were at least six of the phoneya including Patrick Keane. Of course we cannot trust them but they are so goofy now that it looks to me as if they are all split up and it won't be long before they are out the papers gave us a good writeup even so far as the attendance they put it in the papers straight 1000 seamen and all 100% in accord on the basic issue of going on strike now we are up against the proposition of explaining the delay after telling them that there was no more time after midnight they have been calling in from every ship in the harbor and even from Phil. and Baltimore so we have to tell them and they are sore as hell well kid keep y up the fight out there and I will write the developments around here.

Give my regards to David and the boys tell Dave we will see that his wife is alright but that he should send her a wire or a letter.

Fraternally Yours in Unity.

Jacy Joseph Curran

AJBICF

703

IPED

Curran requests instructions from Innes—Note "secret" code signatures

**Pacific Coast
MARINE FIREMEN, OILERS, WATERTENDERS & WIPERS ASSN.**
Affiliated with the International Seamen's Union of America
SAN FRANCISCO
January 8, 1937.

18 COMMERCIAL ST.
SAN FRANCISCO 200

Strikes Committee,
San Pedro, Calif.

Brother:
There are numerous members of this organization who are leaving the West Coast without clearance of any kind. It is reported in at the various ports of this coast. It is the policy of this organization to forward letters of clearance to the port, in which a brother is journeying to.

However, several strike committee members from Brother (this does not) is the attention of the committee of procedure.

WESTERN UNION
18 COMMERCIAL ST. NEW YORK 200
San Francisco, Calif. Telephone San Pedro 150

112 EAST 6 ST SAN PEDRO CALIF
PETER INNES
9304 71 HIL-NEW YORK NY 27

YOU ARE HEREBY INSTRUCTED TO ARRANGE MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS IN ALL WEST COAST PORTS AND TO INFORM THEM THAT IN THE EVENT OF A WEST COAST STRIKE OF ALL EAST COAST MEN IS A LET DOWN OF THE EAST COAST STRIKE THAT THIS IN NO WAY IS A LET DOWN OF THE EAST COAST STRIKE STOP LONGSHORE CONCENTRATION UNIT DOING EFFECTIVE WORK AND THERE IS EVERY PROSPECT OF MOVING ILLA WITHIN SHORT TIME STOP BALTIMORE ACCORDING TO WHALEN COMPLETELY TIED UP

STOP LAWRENSEN-
NY 7 11

INNES IS IN NO WAY DISFETER STOP HIS P. U. SPEAKS FOR ITSELF STOP THE COASTWISE CONFERENCE/HER A POLICY THAT ANY EAST COAST MEN TO PLACE THEMSELV DISFOLVED AND FOR EAST COAST STOP COMMITTEE STOP JYFISECTION OF THE WEST COAST COMMITTEE STOP FOLLOW THIS POLICY STOP LAWRENSEN SECRETARY STRIKE STRATEGY STOP

↑

**MARINE FIREMEN, OILER
WATERTENDERS & WIPERS ASSN.**
18 COMMERCIAL ST.
SAN FRANCISCO 200

WESTERN UNION
18 COMMERCIAL ST. NEW YORK 200
San Francisco, Calif. Telephone San Pedro 150

PETER J INNES JR. CARE CONDUCTOR 50 PACIFIC TRAIN
DUE 8:15 PM 11TH KSCA
KAY READ LETTER FROM REGENER AT STRATEGY MEETING LET
CONTENTS OF THIS LETTER BE KNOWN TO MEMBERSHIP ON STREET
AND ALSO INNES WORKED PEDRO IN UNOFFICIAL VOTED RECALL
PEDRO STRATEGY WIPED NETWORK SEVERAL TIMES OF RECALL UNQUOTE
LETTER AWAITING YOUR ARRIVAL NY

NY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WESTERN UNION (54)
18 COMMERCIAL ST. NEW YORK 200
San Francisco, Calif. Telephone San Pedro 150

RECEIVED WIRE FROM NY THIS MORNING QUOTE THAT YOUR CHARACTER AND RECORD OKAY AND EASTCOAST OPPOSED TO OUR RETAINING OUR HALL SIGNED LAWRENSEN STRIKE STRATEGY COMMITTEE UNQUOTE SAN PEDRO STRATEGY COMMITTEE IS WAITING WORD FROM JACY AS TO CLOSING HALL SOME MEMBERS IN FAVOR OF CLOSING HALL BEFORE WORD IS RECEIVED WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH RECORDS IN OFFICE AND CAR I WILL KEEP YOU POSTED WIRE ME INSTRUCTIONS VIA WESTERN UNION

VAN.

709-1000

Communist Party attempts to frame Innes resulting in interchange of telegrams—
See J. Lawrenson, Secretary Strike Strategy Committee, official wire

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201-S

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

B. B. WHITE

PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILSON

VICE PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Message

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

Received at 107 7th St., San Pedro, Calif. Telephone San Pedro 890

DEC 13 AM 10 39

S39 36 DL 4 EXTRA=MS NEWYORK NY 13 1243P

R E CANETTEN, SECRETARY STRIKING MEMBERS ISU ATLANTIC AND GULF=
216 WEST 6 ST

ABADCF TO THE MEMBERSHIP NO RECALL ISSUED FOR INNES STOP
CARRY ON AS BEFORE STOP WHEN INNES RETURNS TO THE COAST HE
WILL CLARIFY SITUATION STOP YOURS FOR A NATIONAL MARITIME
FEDERATION=

JOSEPH CURRAN CHAIRMAN STRIKE STRATEGY COMMITTEE.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201-S

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67 36 NL 1 EXTRA=CD NEWYORK NY DEC 16 639 DEC 17 AM 7 15

R EVAN ETTERS, SECRETARY=

STRIKING MEMBERS ISU ATLANTIC & GULF 216 WEST 6

LEAVING WITH BRIDGES BY PLANE DEPARTING FROM BALTIMORE AFTER
MASS MEETING TONIGHT DRIVE HALL FOR SATURDAY AFTERNOON AS
WILL STOP SAN FRANCISCO ENROUTE TWENTY THOUSAND AT CARLEN
TONITE BIG SUCCESS BEST WISHES TO ALL THE BOYS=

PETER J INNES JR CHAIRMAN. 703-~~1~~PEU

Curran officially wires support of Innes who was travelling via plane with Harry Bridges

The Party relentlessly continued its efforts to behead Innes. The following letter from Al Yates to Jack Lawrenson reveals their method of operation.

Letter from Al Yates to J. Lawrenson with Definite Fraction orders.

"Dear Jack:

"Enclosed find agreement signed by McLaren and O'Niel. As there was no letter from the NMU District Committee I did not put the agreement on the floor. When said letter comes, will do so and then see it gets wide publicity. I tried to get Ferguson to put an ad in the PILOT, but refused without approval of the meeting and then it was too late. So that's that.

"Could not take the question up concerning the assessments that East Coast pay here. The meeting was too packed with disrupters, etc., to argue the question, also will wait until we put the above-mentioned agreement on the floor. You, of course, know the set-up in the sailors and the set-up in the firemens is fast changing. Since every official position in the coastwise MFOW is in the hands of the wrecking element, we are slipping quite a lot and the absolute brazeness of Ferguson et al is making it difficult to achieve a great deal. When they are instructed by a meeting if the instructions happens to cramp their wrecking plans, they just ignore the whole thing. Trying to force them on the line all the time puts us in the light of sniping at them as it were. When the issues are broad and basic, it is alright to go after them, OTHERWISE EVEN THE RANK AND FILE GET TIRED OF US, HENCE THEY GET AWAY WITH A LOT.

"Last meeting they succeeded in tabling a resolution approving the 5-point program laid down by the CIO Maritime Committee. Altho Malone went for the program, they tabled it but I'm sure we'll be able to get it across next meeting. Anyway this didn't stop the progress of the Unity conference. The present angle that Lundeberg seems to be working now in co-operation with the MFOW stooges is the question of the present agreement. A meeting of a coastwise negotiating or policy committee of the SUP and MFOW is on the books for the 22nd. The Cooks were able to block the call for this meeting. Also the question of balloting. The MFOW went down the line for a ballot individually. Although we got an amendment in making it void if the majority of the Unions in the Federation didn't open agreements it is quite possible that Furgeson will sabotage it. As you know, if we don't open negotiations, the agreement automatically goes another year. Evidently the plan is to sow a lot of confusion regarding the agreements and it also incidentally, and perhaps accidently, put us the MFOW and SUP in a position where the shipowners can legally lock us out. It seems to me to be a very tough and serious situation. The ILA has already gone down the line not to open their agreement. I'M HOPING WE CAN GET SOME ORGANIZATION IN THE VARIOUS FRACTIONS TO MAKE A DRIVE ON THIS THING, BUT AT THE PRESENT TIME OUR WATERFRONT SECTION AS A COHESIVE AND UNIFIED BODY WITH A CLEAR POLICY AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE WHOLE COAST AND NATIONAL SITUATION JUST DOESN'T EXIST. WE NEED A TREMENDOUS AMOUNT OF BUILDING UP IN THE CHURCH. This business of expiring agreements is loaded with dynamite.

"IF RUSSELL OR FRANCEZON ARE STILL THERE, TELL THEM THAT WE DIDN'T PUT THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING INNES ON THE FLOOR. THE SET-UP HERE WOULD DEFEAT IT. The recent issues as the Convention in Portland the present CIO, etc. have drawn the lines very sharply in our meeting. Although the phoney element has no use for the little runt, nevertheless they would battle in his behalf, and we would undoubtedly lose the resolution; hence we didn't put it up. THIS WAS A FRACTION DECISION. Please tell Russell and Francezon not to hang around New York, at least not both of them. WE NEED MORE FORCES HERE AND ALTHO WE HAVE QUITE A FEW PARTY MEMMBRS, NONE OF THEM SEEM TO GO OVER MUCH AND WE ARE UNABLE TO CAPTURE ANY ELECTIONS FOR COMMITTEES, ETC. THE COMING MONTH IS SO IMPORTANT THAT IT IS VITAL THAT WE HAVE SOME FORCES. ALSO TELL ROY THIS FOR ME PLEASE:

"I got elected to meet with the Maritime Commission on the question of manning scale, minimum wages, etc. They are holding forth here on the Coast starting Tuesday. They are meeting with all the seafaring crafts. If you have any brilliant suggestions, send them on to me. You can write to me c.o. Neptune Club, 779 Vallejo St.

"At the next meeting the wreckers are going to try to seal our ballots. We will probably wind up balloting by then, as we have been balloting six weeks now. I think we can beat them on this, however, a concentration of "Lumpen Proletariat" here, such as Blackie Compeau, Evans from Mobile renegade Joe Wilson and a few others including Smallman and his twist; she is now working in the office and the pair of them are cementing themselves together into a beautifully happy couple by screwing and sabotaging. Lovers at twilight usually murmur sweet nothings or whisper pledges of eternal devotion, but this pair at midnight hours rub their hands over each others thigh and lay plans to weld the chain stronger that binds the working class in slavery. The black-hearted bastards!

"Try to keep in touch with me or at least have some one write the developments of the NMU convention. Here's hoping we can serve some use out here to make the unity convention a success.

"GIVE MY REGARDS TO TOMMY RAY, ROY, AL LANNON ET ALL. THE SAVIORS OF RANK AND FILE UNIONISM—IT HAS JUST ABOUT VANISHED FROM THE WEST COAST.

"You might also give Roy a song and dance about organization of the waterfront section out here. I'm not just merely criticizing it, I'm trying to do something constructive but working from the bottom alone is almost like pulling oneself up by one's bootstraps, as it were.

"WHEN I CAN THROW MY NMU BOOK IN FOR A JOB, I'LL BE AROUND NEW YORK.

"AL YATES"

Later Comrade Francezon tried again without much success at San Pedro as the minutes show.

"Excerpt from San Pedro minutes, MFO&W July 20, 1937:

"Resolution from Brother Francezon, No. 22, tabled from last regular meeting.

"WHEREAS: During the 1937 Maritime Strike, Peter Innes was representing the East Coast seamen on the West Coast, and proving himself to be in the way to real solidarity between the East and West Coasts, due to his arbitrary attitude on several questions, namely,

"1. By his attempt to prevent the West Coast from pulling the East Coast ships out on strike.

"2. By opening an East Coast Hall in San Pedro, thus isolating the East Coast seamen from their brothers meeting in the various halls in the West Coast.

"3. By making certain slandering statements at a business meeting of the NMU (firemen section) to the effect that East Coast men were being dumped right and left in San Pedro and that he had to open a separate hall because of the need to protect East Coast men from the phonies like O'Sullivan, the business agent of the San Pedro branch of the MFO&W and others like him, and,

"WHEREAS: Every action taken by Peter Innes was practically dictated over the protest of the East Coast seamen on strike at that time in an arbitrary and bureaucratic way which was strongly resented by the men on the beach at the time.

Therefore, BE IT RESOLVED: That the membership of the San Pedro Branch of the MFO&W strongly protest the actions of the said Peter Innes and request the NMU to remove him from any official capacity as being incapable and incompetent to represent any real rank and file movement.

"Motion: To concur

"Amendment: Write Peter Innes and get his side

"Motion: TO TABLE—CARRIED."

Following the termination of the strike Innes returned East, where he was again attacked repeatedly. Charges were brought against him continually. On May 31, 1938, James A. Gribble, 1980 Deck, brought charges against Innes at a joint meeting in the Manhattan Plaza. These charges had originally been submitted to the "Fact Finding Committee" composed of Comrades Robert Mills, 129 Deck; E. R. Colin, 1630 Engine; and G. Vander Ross, 6715 C & S.

Contrary to constitutional provisions, this committee, aided by Chairman Curran—who read excerpts of a letter from Comrade Ralph Rogers—discussed the case in a manner calculated to prejudice the membership against Innes. Pretending to be unbiased and impartial Curran then recognized a motion to lay over to new business, after making sure the "right discussion" had taken place.

Under new business, however, a *new* and more complete set of charges was acted upon, which was signed by the following men: Ernest G. Gisbart, 2462 Deck; Richard Hogarth, 3204 C & S; M. Mats, 2139 C & S; V. Lupez, 1598 C & S; and Jack Noone, 2059 C & S. On an elected trial committee the Party was only successful in placing three comrades, Reed, Krustangel and Eugene Williams. S. Lemmon and R. Davis were the other two elected, thus blasting the Party's hopes of accomplishing a frame-up. Having failed in this plan, the Party apparently lost interest. The committee neither met nor acted on the charges.

Despite this they were just as anxious as ever to get Innes because a short time prior he had brought charges against Byne, Whalen, McGowan, Meers and others. He also signed the charges brought against F. Smith and had created quite an uproar. All in all at this point, honors were about evenly divided in this battle of charge and counter-charge, but it seems Innes' thirst for combat with the Party had in no wise abated.

At an Engine Division meeting, June 20, 1938, Innes made a motion which caused the division to stop paying percapita tax to the CP controlled New York Maritime Council.

Quoting from page seven of those minutes, under new business:

"MOTION: That the Treasurer of the Engine Division stand instructed to pay no more per capita tax to the Maritime Council in the port of New York until the Council has pro rated the monies paid by the NMU to Ray Torr in the form of salaries and the representatives of the Engine Division on the District Committee stand instructed to vote no more NMU money to Ray Torr for any purpose.

"Motion: Innes, No. 194

"Second: Rothenberg, No. 9092

"INNES: Last December the Council reported to the District Committee that they were in financial straits and requested through Tommy Ray that the NMU put Torr on the NMU payroll, pending the next Council meeting. Torr is Publicity Director for the Council and has been receiving \$40 a week for the job out of NMU funds, and further we as a component part of the Council have never received a financial report from the Council, even tho as a Division we are already paying Lawrenson a salary for the job of Publicity Expert, we should not pay someone else's bills for the same work, when we can't pay our delegates and officials the salaries due them under the Constitution.

"M/S/C unanimously"

The Party was furious, especially when the Deck Division took similar action and their pet scheme for controlling all the affiliated New York maritime unions, folded up through the lack of finances. Although other maritime unions were affiliated with this Council, the NMU bore the burden of financing the scheme, and when this support was withdrawn, the council collapsed. At this same meeting—June 20, 1938—Byne leaped up and objected to Innes' eligibility to act on a committee to which he was being elected, on the grounds that he was suspended since he was on charges. Quoting from page 8 of the minutes of that meeting:

ELECTION OF COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE SHIPWRECK CLAIMS

Nominees: Innes No. 194 (accepts)

All other nominees decline. Volunteers called for.

Wilson No. 621
Udovich No. 357
Allen No. 4232
Bailey No. 4477

"BYNE: Innes is not eligible as he is on charges.

"INNES: I have never been suspended by this or any other meeting. I have waited five weeks patiently for my Trial Committee to act. I was instructed to produce records and when they were available only one Commissar, Williams, showed up and wanted to try me all by himself. The rest have shipped or failed to act in any way. I have here a copy of the first day's proceedings—unpurged—which I obtained over the great objections of the stenographer who made them up. I am either a member of this Union or I am not. I am not suspended and my book is paid to July 1st. and is in good standing. I demand my full constitutional rights as a members of this Division. My shipping card is over 90 days old waiting for a report.

"MOTION BY CONDI; Seconded by Marciano: That due to the inoperation of the Trial Committee, I move that this meeting vote Innes a member with full rights and that charges be dropped.

"WILLIAMS:—on the motion: It is true that Innes has waited five weeks for a trial and has reported each Wednesday for a hearing. It is true all the other members of the Committee have shipped except Lemmon and myself. However, we were elected at a Joint Meeting and should make a report to a Joint Meeting. Innes is still on charges and a new Committee should be elected.

"INNES: The Constitution states that a man out of the shipping game over 6 months is required to take out a retirement card. I wish to challenge Brother Williams eligibility to sit in at this meeting.

"WILLIAMS produces last discharge showing a loop trip from April 7th to April 27th, 1938.

"KING: I believe that it is time that the matters concerning Innes should be straightened out. For over a year someone or some group has been trying to hang this guy. When he returned from the Coast over a year ago, he turned over to the District Committee his records for examination. (At this point King asks M. Byne if the records were ever investigated by the District Committee. Byne answers "No").

"KING continues: I would suggest the maker of the motion incorporate that this meeting request the District Committee to investigate these charges and send a report to our next meeting. If they find something against him, then we can take action. If not, they should say so and stop all this bologna. I am going to ask Innes to withdraw from this Committee to save time and discussion.

"INNES: As a personal favor to King, I will withdraw providing this meeting acts on this tonight.

"ROTHENBERG No. 9092 volunteers to serve when Innes withdraws.

"M/S/C To elect by acclamation

"M/S/C: That the Engine Division rule Innes charges out and that charges be investigated by the District Committee—they to make a report to the Engine Division meeting next meeting for action thereon."

Byne's intention was clear; if Innes was held to be suspended, then obviously any motion he had made at this meeting was illegal. As shown in the above excerpts from that meeting, King then decided to call for a showdown between Innes, and Curran and the Party through the District Committee.

A special meeting of the District Committee was convened on July 5, 1938 to deal with the case of Peter J. Innes, Jr., by special request. Here is where he should have been made to pay for all the sins attributed to him, while he was before the highest ruling body of the union. Innes appeared with a mysterious green box evidently containing papers, which matched Curran's complexion when *he saw it*.

The minutes of the subsequent meeting tell the story. Quoting from minutes of Special meeting of A & G District Committee, July 5, 1938:

"Meeting called to order at 12:30 by Brother Jerry King, Chairman Pro Tem.

"PRESENT: Joseph Curran, Chas. De Gress, Frank Jones, Ferdinand Smith, Jerry King, Moe Byne, Jack Lawrenson, F. C. Phillips, Peter J. Innes, Jr.—by special request.

"CHAIRMAN: Here is the question to be settled now. The port of San Pedro financial strike records and debts incurred while in the port—Brother Innes has on various occasions been requested to give an explanation of what occurred in the port, especially regarding the financial transactions and obligations and debts incurred in that port. That is the purpose of this meeting. Has the Sub-Committee on Finance made an investigation of this situation? (Calls for Office Manager Lieberman, to bring in all records of San Pedro).

"CHAIRMAN: What started the beef this time?

"INNES: I accepted the nomination at the Engine Division meeting to sit on a committee to investigate the shipwreck claims. Byne raised an objection to it on the basis that I was suspended. It was coming to a vote, when you, Brother King, asked me to withdraw provided this would be referred to the District Committee. The original committee shipped out after four or five weeks. The Committee just dissolved.

"CURRAN: Are the records of the Trial Committee available?

"INNES: They are. I have an official copy and you have one on file in the office.

"KING TO PHILLIPS: Have you a copy?

"PHILLIPS: I never received a copy.

"INNES: I want it in the record that this copy is my copy and not the property of the District Committee.

"KING: It will be returned to you. These are the charges that were originally preferred against you?

"INNES: For the purpose of the record will you have the charges read into the record.

"CHAIRMAN KING: What is the opinion of the Committee regarding the charges?

"LAWRENSON: Who preferred the charges?

"CHAIRMAN: Here are the charges in substance. (Reads letter of notification of charges as presented to Innes).

"Mr. Peter J. Innes, Jr., c/o NMU Hall, 126—11th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

"Dear Brother:

"You are hereby notified to appear before the duly elected Trial Committee, elected

at a Joint Meeting on Tuesday, May 31st, 1938 at Manhattan Plaza. You are to appear on Friday, June 3rd at 10:00 A.M. in NMU Headquarters, 126—11th Avenue on the fifth floor. You are charged with the following:

"In view of the fact that PETER J. INNES, JR., a member of the MFOW did collect certain money from the crew members of several East Coast ships who were on strike in San Pedro, California, during our last strike, and,

"Considering the fact that this sum which was ample for its purpose was voted by all members on strike as an assessment for the purpose of liquidating the debts incurred by them during their stay in San Pedro, California, and,

"Because we, the undersigned have positive proof that this money was never used for the purpose of its collection (in the nature of signed bills still outstanding even at this late date) we hereby bring charges against the said PETER J. INESS, JR.

"1. Conduct of the most despicable and unwarranted kind; certainly not the kind expected from a good rank and file member.

"2. Causing all members of the NMU to be looked upon with askance and mistrust, due to the fact that these bills were never paid.

"3. Reverting this money to his own personal use.

"4. Failing to produce receipts for even ten percent of money collected. (We have never seen any of the receipts).

"We would like to know what became of this money and bring the charges as our only means of finding out.

"Respectfully, ERNEST G. GISBARTH, Deck 2462; RICHARD HOGARTH, MC&S 3204; M. MATS, MC&S 2139; V. LUPEZ MC&S 1598; JACK NOONE, MC&S 2059.

"In case you absent yourself without giving satisfactory reason to at least three members of the Trial Committee, we will proceed as scheduled.

"Fraternally, REED; KRUSTANGEL; WILLIAMS; LEMMON; DAVIS.

"CHAIRMAN: Do you want me to read the testimony?

"CURRAN: I want a copy of the Trial Committee's report so that I can study it. I think every member of the committee, as long as they are going to investigate should have a copy. I propose that the whole matter be held in abeyance until every member of the District Committee can have a copy of the Trial Committee's report and have sufficient time to study it and make recommendations. Seconded by De Gress.

"INNES: I have waited since June 3 for this trial, better than that, since May, for the trial.

"CURRAN: Point of order. The motion is entirely a matter for the committee.

"CHAIRMAN: On your point of order, since it is a question of pro and con here, it is pretty hard to place the fault because there are no minutes and I therefore am going to permit Innes to state what he has to state.

"INNES: The District Committee was notified three weeks ago by the Engine Division about this matter. If Curran was anxious to obtain a record of these proceedings, he could have obtained them. They are on file somewhere in the office. The District Committee, thru the minutes which are in the hands of the Chairman, can obtain testimony of the various witnesses from the report.

"CURRAN: My motion is still on the floor.

"INNES: If the District Committee is going to rule that I sit here on the beach for another few weeks then I should be put on a subsistence allowance.

"PHILLIPS: I would like to ask Brother Curran thru the Chair if he has ever received a copy of these minutes, or if any member of the District committee has ever received a copy.

"CURRAN: I think it is silly to answer it because I made a motion that I wanted to see a copy and if I had, I would not make this motion.

"PHILLIPS: I was given to understand that you have received a copy and that is why I asked. One member of the Trial Committee told me that you received a copy of the charges. Consequently, I was surprised to find that you had never had a copy. For the record, I would like to know if any other member of the District Committee has seen a copy of the charges.

"DE GRESS: I have never seen a copy. It is customary that at least every division is given a copy for the files. I didn't get one for the Deck files.

"PHILLIPS: There has never been a copy delivered to the Engine files.

"INNES: For the record, there were only three copies made. I took one. The stenographer in the Deck office should have the others. What happened to them, I don't know. I understood one of them was for the District Committee.

"LAWRENSON: I would like to ask a few questions thru the chair. Does being on trial prevent shipping out?

"INNES: My shipping card expired June 13th. I appeared before the Trial Committee as instructed. The trial went on for three hours. I was instructed to appear the following week on Wednesday at 10 o'clock, which I did. There were only four members at that meeting. The trial continued to the following week and at that meeting there was only one member who showed up. My card expired June 13th. The Trial Committee never handed down a decision.

"BYNE: *You have never been suspended.*

"INNES: The dispatcher refuses to issue me a shipping card.

"BYNE: He has no right to do that because you have not been suspended. You have the privilege of shipping.

"LAWRENSON: Did the accusers bring any evidence against Innes at the trial. Did the fellow who signed the charges bring in any evidence?

"INNES: This can be very easily answered thru the minutes of the trial.

"JONES: Where does the District Committee come in one this? Wasn't there a duly elected trial committee functioning on this case?

"KING: A trial committee was elected at a joint meeting and they met and made no final decision evidently. At the last Firemen's meeting a committee was being elected for the purpose of investigating the MANDALAY claims Brother Byne objected to Innes' nomination because he was on trial and suspended. Innes then raised the point that he wanted this matter cleared up. I therefore asked that in view of the fact that this was a joint matter that it could not be settled by the Engine Division and that it be referred to the District Committee for action. I assumed that the District Committee had in its possession evidence or records of Innes' previous activities in Pedro that could be checked and a decision arrived at. The District Committee knew that this affair was pending.

"LAWRENSON: This is the first I know of it. It seems that we are all in a fog about this. We should have time to read the evidence and then have another meeting tomorrow.

"INNES: You have all the evidence, Mr. Chairman.

"KING: How long do you think it will take you to read 26 pages?

"LAWRENSON: About an hour.

"JONES: I still can't see how the District Committee can act until the committee makes a report.

"CURRAN: Point of order. Disposition must be made of my motion.

"KING: The motion is the District Committee hold action on this in abeyance until such time as the District Committee members have been presented copies of these charges and familiarized themselves with the situation. This has been seconded.

"JONES: I would like to know on what authority the District Committee can take any action pending the report of the original committee.

"KING: The District Committee is faced with this problem. Innes is on charges and suspended. Some decision must be made. The Trial Committee has dissolved voluntarily. They have shipped out. This brother in the meantime is hanging around here suspended.

"BYNE: He is not suspended. I didn't know at that time and it was explained to me later that he was not suspended.

"INNES: The Black gang threw the charges out and asked the District Committee investigate and make a report back to the Black Gang so they can take action.

"CURRAN: After reading over this report of the trial committee, I wish to withdraw my motion. De Gress, as seconder, agrees.

"Chairman declares motion withdrawn.

"CURRAN: *Motion that the whole works be thrown out.* Seconded.

"JONES: Point of Order—the point is how can we throw it out without the Committee having made a decision?

"KING: These charges are not worth a goddam. In view of the fact that the Trial Committee did not complete its job. They are signed only by the Chairman.

"INNES: The trial was not ended. It was adjourned until the 8th and there were only four present. Then it was adjourned to another time.

"KING: This entire matter should be stricken from the record. There is a great deal of conversation in that report and that is all.

"JONES: I raised the point as a matter of procedure but I don't agree that Innes should be suspended indefinitely. The Committee can reinstate him as a member until the Trial Committee can report.

"BYNE: *He is not suspended. He never was suspended.*

"INNES: I have never been suspended by any meeting?

"CURRAN: Point of order. This union has been put in a sad state of affairs because of constant bickering, charges and counter charges. There has been negligence and carelessness so that everybody could be brought up on charges. Unless the District Committee puts its foot down and stops this nonsense, things will be in a bad state. We have work to do today. We have ships tied up. We have to contact shipowners and conclude contracts. But what are we doing? We are arguing over nothing. Something which is very unimportant. We do it every day. If we are going to continue this we might as well constitute ourselves and the Union a trial committee and go on with charges and counter charges. We made a motion that it be thrown out. I want to see some action on this motion. Let's get down to the business of running the Union. If this man is guilty, he will not live it down. The members who know of it will see to that. There is nothing to go by in this evidence. If we make a decision here it is going to be bandied around again and again. I want some action on my motion.

"LAWRENSON: I merely suggest a solution to an impasse—and I am asking a question. What is wrong with the District Committee bringing a statement to the joint membership meeting on Friday night recommending to the meeting that in view of the fact that the original committee had automatically dissolved itself, the joint meeting should take action and throw the charges out of the window. I think it would be best to put this into the laps of the membership Friday night.

"KING: The motion is to throw the entire affair out insofar as the District Committee is concerned, in accordance with Curran's elaboration.

"BYNE: Amendment—That this be submitted to the membership meeting Friday night for final disposition of throwing it out.

"CURRAN: Agrees to incorporate amendment into the motion.

"Question called. Motion carried.

"CURRAN: I request that Innes turn over all his records to the Union.

"INNES: I have turned them in and I have copies of all my records in my possession. I have a complete set of copies and will be glad to turn them over whenever necessary."

Moe Byne suddenly discovered Innes was not suspended. . . . Lawrenson knew nothing about the whole affair (though he was one of those who planned the "putsch" at the joint meeting that night). . . . Curran delivered a lecture on the grave responsibilities of the District Committee . . . discoursed at length on the futility of holding trials on flimsy evidence . . . advised that if Innes were guilty, his sins would find him out. Curran wound up by asking Innes to return *all* his records. Innes' answer, given in the District Committee meeting, was significant and . . . funny! in the light of what the record has revealed.

Innes was employed as purchasing agent for the union and the Party continued to attack him chiefly through the stewards' division where their strength was most consolidated at the time. At a joint meeting held in headquarters hall an issue was made over the question of who had appointed Innes. Sadly disappointed were the comrades, when, contrary to their fond expectations, they learned Innes had been appointed to his job by the District Committee (as the record will show) and not King as the Pilot stated. George Hearn later lied about Innes' appointment, also. This, however, was in keeping with his character and was merely one of the things expected of him by the comrades for permitting him to keep his piecard.

Having tried all other methods, the comrades then, totally enraged, sent a goon squad after Innes. He was attacked and brutally beaten about the head on West 21st St. while walking between 8th and 9th Avenues. He was taken to Saint Clair's hospital and remained there several days in a critical condition. When he left the hospital he disappeared shortly afterward and has seldom been seen on the waterfront since.

There was sufficiently good reason to doubt that Innes had stolen anything, despite the lying reports that were brought to the membership by the Mills "super" auditing committees (these reports, obviously drawn up by auditors and not seamen, *were drawn up for Mills, Byne, et al. by Party auditors*). It was later learned that *Carney was in possession of much of the missing material for which Innes received the blame.*

The story of Innes from the record frankly exposes the amazing depths the Party will go to, to "get" their opposition.

X THE NMU IS FORMED

AFTER the Fall-Winter strike, Ralph Emerson and James Mullen were sent to Washington as Legislative representatives for the rank and file. The District Committee of the Atlantic and Gulf was set up and held their first meeting at 215 Tenth Avenue, December 23, 1936. "Blackie" Myers was elected permanent chairman, with Jerry King elected permanent secretary. Then the Committee undertook to act for the East Coast seamen with the operators.

On a motion by Myers the District Committee assumed "full responsibility" for the Pilot, which was officially adopted as the paper of the East Coast seamen, with Comrade Harry (Hynes) Hall acting as Editor. Curran, Fitzsimmons, Chase and Tommy Ray were reinstated as members of the *Union* in the Deck department; the following stewards were reinstated: Emerson; Goodall; F. Jones; "Riff Raff" Rolfe; and Octave Loones.

Because he had not packed a union book long enough to qualify as a full member, Curran was at first not seated on the District Committee as an official. It was feared there might be legal backfires since the three departments "claimed" they were functioning under the old ISU constitutions. Curran, appointed as

organizer, sat at District Committee meetings with a voice though he was supposed to have no vote. Then, the Party was seriously toying with the idea of "purging" Curran and as a consequence party members often referred to him in disrespectful terms. J. Lawrenson openly ridiculed the "leader" many times in bars and along the waterfront. Neither he nor Curran attempted to conceal their mutual antipathy and jealousy.

This ill feeling flared forth in District Committee meetings especially when Lawrenson was often heard remarking, "Why keep up the pretense any longer? Let's get rid of the big, conceited bum." Myers, Byne, Lyons, Smith and Jones sided in with Lawrenson and the meetings were almost completely disrupted. Curran demanded plaintively that all business be suspended until Lawrenson left the room. Lawrenson, in charge of publicity, would retort that Curran was only an organizer and not a trustee, therefore he had an equal right to remain in the meeting, since it was not limited to actual trustees. These "catty" exchanges leaked out, and the membership often referred to them as the "prima donnas."

Matters reached a climax when the Communist Party was forced to send Tommy Ray in to discipline Curran, and Lawrenson and his colleagues on the District Committee. In the meantime the rank and file continued their attempts to force the ISU to conduct official elections within the Marine Cooks and Stewards MC & S) and the Eastern and Gulf Sailors Association (E & GSA) with little success. The operators had recognized the rank and file of the ISU on an informal basis, under pressure of course, and the rank and file was collecting dues in some cases. (Later the NMU was certified by NLRB elections as the seamen's bargaining agency).

The ISU officials obtained a Federal Court injunction before Judge Murray Hulbert ordering the rank and file to desist from this practice. It was then decided to break away completely and form a new, independent setup.

Prior to this, however, an episode occurred that should be recorded. It had been decided to hold an election in the E & GSA (May 1, 1937) in spite of Brown, Pryor, et. al. The "rank and file" would then force the ISU officials to recognize the results of this election. Accordingly, ballots were printed and the election apparatus was set up when—*the Party realized its mistake!* Under the existing constitution, which governed that election, most of the comrades were ineligible since they lacked sufficient time in the union. Curran, Myers and others *were not* listed on that ballot. The Party called off the election.

They explained the reason they had done this was because such rank and file figures as Curran and Myers were disqualified under the "phoney" ISU constitutions. In such fashion were the "leaders" saved for the later "salvation" of the rank and file.

The big swindle was on!

(See pictures of ballot and bulletin on next two pages).

WE ACCUSE

E&GSA Elections Called Off! NMU TO HOLD FIRST DEMOCRATIC SEAMEN'S ELECTIONS ON E. C.

The membership of the Deck Division have voted in regular meetings up and down the Coast to call off the Sailors' Elections started when they were still in the ISU.

WHY?

1. The elections were being conducted under the Phoney Constitution which:
 - a) prevented most of the bona-fide sailors from voting because of "good standing" and "time in the Union" requirements;
 - b) prevented most of the sailors' leaders such as Joe Curran and Blackie Myers from running for office.
2. The ballots for the election were labeled "Eastern & Gulf Sailors' Association". We are no longer the E&GSA; we're the National Maritime Union of America. If the elections under the E&GSA are continued:
 - a) the phonies could get an injunction against us for using their name;
 - b) the brothers who are elected would not be officials of the NMU since they would have been elected on an E&GSA ballot.

At the coming NMU convention in July, a Rank and File Constitution will be drafted. This constitution will provide for democratic elections in all departments.

HOW?

- The elections to be conducted under the democratic Rank and File Constitution will:
- a) permit every bona-fide member of the NMU on shore and on ship to vote;
 - b) permit the sailors' leaders to run for office if they choose.
3. The elections will choose officers for the NMU—not for the E&GSA.

beam/OTO

703 ~~IPU~~

publicity bureau
 126 Eleventh Avenue, NY
 National Maritime Union of Amer.

Facsimile of leaflet calling off election

FOR SAVANNAH AGENT:
Vote for one (1) only
SEEBERGER, E., No. 4012 ☐

FOR MOBILE AGENT:
Vote for one (1) only
BENSON, JOHN, No. 170 ☐

FOR NEW ORLEANS AGENT:
Vote for one (1) only
McARTHUR, JOHN, No. 3088 ☐

FOR PORT ARTHUR AGENT:
Vote for one (1) only
KLOTH, HERMAN, No. 3186 ☐

FOR HOUSTON AGENT:
Vote for one (1) only
GALE, ROY, No. 3627 ☐

FOR GALVESTON AGENT:
Vote for one (1) only
STEVENSON, JAMES, No. 1887 ☐
BENSON, JOHN, No. 170 ☐

STATEMENT

The old officials supported by Ivan Hunter and the shipowners have always disregarded the expressed wishes of the seamen. They packed the union halls with thugs and their goon squads. They threw out honest militant seamen. They adjourned meetings before the business was transacted. They refused to hold meetings. They sold out to the shipowners and forced the seamen to take strike action. They tried to break the seamen's strikes. They adopted phony constitutions and entered into phony contracts. They used the courts in every way to frustrate the will of the seamen. We believe they will resort to the same tactics in an attempt to prevent the newly elected officials from conducting the affairs of the Union and to confuse the membership. Therefore, to preserve the gains obtained for the seamen, to enable the newly elected officials to act for and represent them in collective bargaining with the shipowners, and to unify the rank and file, we present the following question:

VOTE YES OR NO ON THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITION:

I hereby authorize the officers of our union to take any and all steps necessary to compel recognition of the duly elected officers and to protect and keep intact our unity in the event that the A. F. O. L. Executive Board or the I. S. U. Executive Board make any attempt to disrupt or destroy our organization.

VOTE YES ☐

VOTE NO ☐

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

Mark [X] in square opposite candidate you wish to vote for.
Do not erase or mar in any way.
Drop your ballot in box after marking and sealing it.
Only full members in good standing are permitted to vote.

FOR PRESIDENT:
Vote for one (1) only
GARROW, HENRY, No. 1 ☐
KLOTH, HERMAN, No. 3186 ☐

FOR VICE PRESIDENT:
Vote for one (1) only
BENSON, JOHN, No. 170 ☐
JOHANNSSAN, ERIC, No. 4891 ☐

FOR SECRETARY:
Vote for one (1) only
DE GRESS, CHARLES, No. 3296 ☐
LEMMON, SHERMAN, No. 4733 ☐

FOR TREASURER:
Vote for one (1) only
GOLD, IRVING, No. 3211 ☐
FRIMSTEAD, KURT, No. 2428 ☐

FOR TRUSTEES:
Vote for Seven (7) only
DOANE, KENNETH, No. 3195 ☐
TURNER, ROBERT, No. 2502 ☐
PERRY, WESLEY, No. 4173 ☐
NELSON, MALACHY, No. 2482 ☐
STEVENSON, JAMES, No. 1887 ☐
GALE, ROY, No. 3627 ☐
BENKUS, HAROLD, No. 6021 ☐
McARTHUR, JOHN, No. 3088 ☐
FRIMSTEAD, KURT, No. 2428 ☐
PINKSTON, WILLIAM, No. 1658 ☐
SEEBERGER, E., No. 4012 ☐

BALLOT N° 6415

**EASTERN AND GULF
SAILORS' ASSOCIATION**
OF THE ATLANTIC AND GULF
Atlantic District of the I. S. U.

MAY, 1937

FOR DELEGATES TO CONVENTION:

Vote for Seven (7) only
GALE, ROY, No. 3627 ☐
FRIMSTEAD, KURT, No. 2428 ☐
DE GRESS, CHARLES, No. 3296 ☐
McARTHUR, JOHN, No. 3088 ☐
LEMMON, SHERMAN, No. 4733 ☐
GOLD, IRVING, No. 3211 ☐
FINGELSAANG, A., No. 2310 ☐
PINKSTON, WILLIAM, No. 1658 ☐
NELSON, MALACHY, No. 2482 ☐

FOR BOSTON AGENT:

Vote for one (1) only
DE GRESS, CHARLES, No. 3296 ☐
DOANE, KENNETH, No. 3195 ☐

FOR PROVIDENCE AGENT:

Vote for one (1) only
GARROW, HENRY, No. 1 ☐

FOR NEW YORK AGENT:

Vote for one (1) only
LEMMON, SHERMAN, No. 4733 ☐
TURNER, ROBERT, No. 2502 ☐
STEVENSON, JAMES, No. 1887 ☐

FOR PHILADELPHIA AGENT:

Vote for one (1) only
GOLD, IRVING, No. 3211 ☐
PINKSTON, WILLIAM, No. 1658 ☐
PERRY, WESLEY, No. 4173 ☐

FOR BALTIMORE AGENT:

Vote for one (1) only
BENKUS, HAROLD, No. 6021 ☐
SEEBERGER, E., No. 4012 ☐

FOR NORFOLK AGENT:

Vote for one (1) only
NELSON, MALACHY, No. 2482 ☐

Ballot shows—No Curran—No Meyers

The NMU was formally organized on May 3, 1937 and it was decided to hold a constitutional convention later, where provisions would be made for the election of NMU officials. Meanwhile, status quo would be maintained and the District Committee would continue to exercise its guardianship of the memberships' affairs. Tommy Ray was appointed chairman of the committee to draw up the proposed constitution and with Attorney Standard, forthwith set about drafting a "Democratic" document. The membership was assured by the "leader" they were going to get a constitution which would be the envy of other unions, but for some reason, rumors persisted.

The membership demanded to be shown copies of the draft constitution and when their demands were met with continued evasions they became restive. The SS Manhattan called a special meeting at headquarters. Some members might recall that meeting was particularly stormy, but they too were unsuccessful. Finally, the "day" arrived and Tommy Ray brought the draft to the Union offices. Strangely, the document revealed, Ray and Standard had forgotten their old



HEADQUARTERS
126 ELEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

National Maritime Union of America

Atlantic and Gulf District Committee

June 14th, 1937,

TO ALL MEMBERS - TO ALL BRANCHES - TO ALL SHIPS' DELEGATES, write
OF THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA

Brothers:-

You have already been forwarded the plans for the National Convention of the N.M.U. This plan should be publicized among the seamen in your port and aboard a ship. If successful, I remain of the opinion that it will be advisable to hold special educational meetings and thoroughly discuss the plan.

We feel confident that the section delegates to the convention will meet the needs of the membership.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS RAY, CHAIRMAN,
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION COMMITTEE,
NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA

1. Election of delegates and proposals made in the
2. A list of those now should be forwarded to the list of those

709-1000

Comrade Thomas Ray, Chairman Constitutional Convention Committee, issues call for FIRST NMU Convention

preachings. All they had ranted against in the old ISU constitutions was embodied in the new constitution, which they now proposed to "give" to the NMU.

The convention date was set for July 16, at the Manhattan Opera House on West 34th Street, and machinery was set up for the election of delegates to come from the ships. However, the Communists were not to have their own way too easily at this first convention, since quite a number of the seamen were determined to fight against *this new aggression*. On the evening prior to the convention, Thomas and King went to Curran's apartment. They pointed out to him that this new document was every bit as arbitrary as the old constitutions which the seamen had fought so hard against. They asked him to take a stand with the seamen and help to fight any new impositions. Curran answered that he was going to remain neutral.

At this time, it must be remembered, the Party units were not as effective aboard ships as they are today, and the seamen ashore were reinforced in their fight by many of the incoming ships' delegates. The Party used every trick in an endeavor to capture or sidetrack the convention delegates. The bar was kept open over many protests in the hopes that some of the rank and file delegates would "fall by the wayside." The usual stunts of parties and women was worked overtime. A terrific whispering campaign was carried on against the "phonies," until even Roy Hudson and the greater part of the Central Committee (CPUSA), who were daily visitors in the galleries, must have been satisfied.

The Party, apprehensive of the seamen's strength, feared their precious constitution was due for considerable revision. William L. Standard had a "confidential" chat with King. He praised King for his "constructive" mind and ability and asked him why he did not join the party. "If you were on the inside, you would be able to state your disagreement with proposals and policies and certainly they would result in 'satisfactory' changes being made." This was the closest Standard ever came to admitting his relationship to the Party insofar as King was concerned. This little "chat" *revealed*, at any rate, *the Party's worry* as reflected through the "eminent" NMU counsel. The Constitutional Committee was elected and the rank and file succeeded in getting an even number of non-communists seated thereon. It was then "recommended" that Standard sit in with this committee "because he had drafted the original, etc." [ad nauseum].

The struggle then began to preserve for the seamen *some* of the democracy for which they had fought so long.

XI THE PARTY BIDS FOR POWER

IT will be seen from some of the original mimeographed drafts what the Party intended. We quote from the original draft constitution by Ray and Standard:

"SEC. 1.—The Executive Council shall be composed of the three National officers to be known as the National President, National Vice-President and National Secretary-Treasurer, who jointly with the three Executive Officers of each District, shall constitute the Executive Council and shall determine all matters which affect all members of the National Maritime Union of America on a national basis, except as may be hereinafter provided."

In 1935, when speaking of the ISU constitution in their little booklet, entitled, "Dictatorship or Democracy," Ray and Standard had said of Executive Boards:

"Instead of being entitled 'Duties of the Executive Board' this should have been called 'Powers of the Executive Board' because under this paragraph, 'all matters pertaining to the union', all questions relating to the union and all matters and questions in which the union or members may be interested are placed in the hands of the Executive Board, from whose decision there is no appeal." (Could Hitler ask for more). . . .

The ISU Executive Board that this precious pair raved against then was no different from the one that they proposed to foist on the NMU as may be seen by a comparison of the original draft (NMU) with the old ISU constitution.

Quoting now from the original Ray-Standard draft:

"Sec. 5, pp. 7—Checks other instruments for the withdrawal of funds of the union shall be drawn on the signatures of any two of the following officers: General President, General Secretary, General Treasurer. Each of the officers shall be bonded in the sum of \$2,000, the premium to be paid by the union. No check or other instrument withdrawing more than \$500 shall be executed unless ordered by the Executive Council." . . .

In 1935, in their booklet, they had said in pious horror, "Thus it becomes apparent that the Executive Board may withdraw funds in any amount without even consulting the membership." They were staunch defenders of the membership at that time, yet compare the section they thus criticized with their own brain child.

The old MFOW constitution, Section 6, provided:

"Whenever it is deemed necessary to draw funds from a bank or banks a resolution stating the general purpose of such withdrawal shall be introduced and passed by a regular meeting at Headquarters. Or by the Executive Board."

Comparing the old with the new, it is plain that the ISU was the more liberal of the two in the sense, that it at least made provisions for the membership to act on withdrawals. They raved about the right of the old Executive Board to make the final decisions in the case of trials of union members yet they made exactly the same provisions in the draft they tried to put over on the seamen in the NMU.

Quoting from Ray-Standard original draft, Section 6, page 7:

"The Executive Council shall have the power to *hear and decide appeals* which may be taken by any member of the National Maritime Union of America, appealing from a decision of the District Committee *or from any trial committee elected to try a member for violating the provisions of this constitution*, and from whose decision the aggrieved party desires to appeal." [Emphasis ours].

Here were the two great "liberals" proposing to give the Executive Board those same powers they had complained against so bitterly in the era, B.C. (Before Communism).

When the Party brazenly attempted to leave the door wide open in order that organizations of their choice might affiliate themselves with the NMU, profiting thereby through the prestige accruing from thus merging, certain seamen fought them, as the following clearly shows in the First Convention debate on "Affiliations."

Quoting from Tenth Session, Friday, July 23rd, page 155 (bound copy):

ARTICLE 1—Section 3

OBJECTS

"(f)—To promote and extend adoption of union principles and affiliation with trade unions and national organizations.

"LARKIN (Baltimore)—I believe the word "industrial" should be put before labor unions.

"HROMODKA suggests amendment: I suggest that the word "trade" unions be taken out and "labor" union inserted. Seconded.

"O'DONAHUE Amendment to Amendment:—I think we should insert the word National "labor" organizations then it would not leave any room for arguments. Seconded.

"Substitute for the whole by DUNLAVEY: To promote and extend the adoption of union principles and affiliation with labor unions and national labor organizations—I make this so that an opening be left for organizations like the ILD* and those friendly to us. Seconded.

"RENAUD—The Brother who made this substitute for whole regarding letting organizations friendly to labor be open for affiliation has left this wide open for political organizations. We must be very careful on this. It should be restated a little differently. After all, no political organizations should come under this clause.

"THOMAS RAY—I think the substitute is good if we say national labor organizations. But, I want to say a few words regarding political affiliation. I will give you my personal opinion. The way this question has been discussed this afternoon indicates an attitude on the

* According to documents published by the "International Labor Defense," it is the American section of the "MOPR" or the "Red International of Labor Defense," often referred to as the "Red International Aid."

The March 2, 1934 issue of Imprecor, the organ of the Third International stated:

"A straight path leads from the relief association founded in London by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in aid of the victims of the revolution of 1848 to the founding of the International Red Aid."

Louis Engdahl, who was the general secretary of the American section of the International Labor Defense for years until his death in Moscow in 1935, was one of the most widely known Communists in the United States.

The present secretary, William L. Patterson (colored) is a widely known Communist. Chief counsel for the International Labor Defense, Joseph Brodsky, is also prominent in Communist circles, as is its other secretary, Anna Damon. For the most part the leaders of the International Labor Defense are Communist.

part of the Convention delegates to evade any issue that may refer to a political organization. I can see the time coming in America when the labor unions in this country will have their own political party, whether it is called the American Labor Party, Non-Partisan League or any other Party; and certainly the steps being taken by the CIO at the present time is going to further the establishment of a political Party of the workers. I say further, when the time comes when the trade union movement begins to take a real interest in the political affairs of this country; when the trade unions move to affiliate to such a Party the seamen should not be the last in line. (Applause).

"STEGLIK—Motion that we close discussion. Seconded.

"JEROME KING—Point of Special Privilege: Regarding discussion by Brother Ray: While it is true that at some later date, affiliation with a political organization which we may determine as friendly to labor may come us, the time for that has not arrived, and I for one want to go on record as being against affiliation to organizations other than bona-fide labor organizations.

"Substitute for the whole as amended:—To promote and extend the adoption of union principles and affiliations with labor unions, national labor organizations and other organizations friendly to labor.

"Question called: 85 for and 94 against. Substitute for the whole as amended defeated.

"Question called on amendment to amendment, which reads: To promote and extend the adoption of union principles and affiliation with labor unions and national labor organizations.

"Carried by vote 128 to 32.

"BROTHER DUNLAVEY: How about a roll call vote.

"CHAIRMAN: The chair wants to say if a Brother demands a roll call vote then fifteen brothers must stand up before the roll call is held. Since there weren't fifteen that stood up, we will proceed to the next order of business."

The record in black and white does not completely reveal the fight that actually took place over this issue. However, the Comrades tried desperately to win this point and leave the door open for future affiliations. Ray was too smart to commit himself completely in the record at this stage of the game but he went out on the limb as far as he dared in face of the determined opposition from the non-communist delegates on the convention floor.

After they had lost the vote on their substitute for the whole, the comrades tried to confuse the delegates by demanding a roll-call vote, as seen in the record. Comrade Dunlavey demanded this but Curran, fearful of the rising temper of the non-communist delegates, did not dare go through with it.

The battle within the constitutional committee meanwhile raged with Myers, Whalen, Gavin and other party members fighting tooth and nail to preserve as much of the original document as they possibly could. Thomas, King, Lemmon, Keenan and Desmond and others fought equally as hard to place the final power of making *all decisions in the hands of the membership*. They finally tried of the undercover procedure of the comrades and recommended that majority and minority reports be drawn up covering both sides of each argument and that these be given to the convention to be acted upon. Since this procedure would have recorded clearly where each man stood, Myers and his comrades undid themselves in trying to shy clear of this "hot potato."

Recognizing the organ of the Union as a *powerful medium* through which the membership could be controlled, the Party fought the hardest on this issue. Since they expected to ultimately control the Executive Council they fought to place the

Pilot completely in the hands of the Council, where the membership could not touch its policy. But on this one point matters reached a climax with the non-communists on the Constitutional Committee equally determined that the membership should exercise the final control over the union paper.

Both sides reached a stalemate.

It was agreed to submit a majority-minority report on the question to the convention and that meeting adjourned. The Party rules do not allow, however, for the frayed tempers of their tired and sleepy "delegates," therefore after they had been properly raked over the coals, Myers and his Comrades were ordered back in to repair the damage they had almost committed. They must not be recorded occupying such an anti-rank-and-file role!

Accordingly, the Chairman of the Constitutional Committee (Meers) later read a "UNANIMOUS" recommendation in re Article V, Section 15, on the Convention floor that was finally adopted. The adopted recommendation is quoted here verbatim from the Convention record:

"Sec. 15—After a two-hour deliberation beginning at midnight and lasting until 2:00 A.M. the committee finally drafted a new section to meet all the proposals urged by various members of our committee. And if you will be attentive we can dispatch this very quickly. It is with considerable pleasure that I can report with unanimity on this section. It now reads as follows:

"Sec. 15—The Publication to be issued by the National Maritime Union of America shall be known as the National Maritime Union Pilot, and shall be managed by a board of three, an Editor-in-chief, Assistant Editor, and a Managing Editor, and in addition a corresponding Editor for each District. The Editor-in-Chief shall be a member in good standing of the American Newspaper Guild. The Assistant Editor, Managing Editor and Corresponding Editors shall be bona fide seamen members of the Union. The Editor-in-Chief, Assistant Editor, and the Managing Editor shall be elected by a ⅔ vote of the National Council and the salaries of all editors shall be fixed by the said council not exceeding \$..... per year.

"The Editor-in-Chief, Assistant Editor and Managing Editor shall be removed by either: (1) a ⅔ vote of the National Council, (2) the adoption of a resolution within a period of a month by two regular membership meetings held in any one District. Upon the receipt of any two such resolutions by the National Council a Special meeting of the Council must be called immediately. The Editor or Editors charged must be immediately suspended pending a decision of the charges.

"The corresponding editors shall be removed at regular meetings called at headquarters in their respective districts. The corresponding editors shall be suspended upon the request of a resolution adopted at any two Branches or at a Divisional meeting at headquarters.

"The National Council shall at all times be held directly responsible to the membership for the policy of the Pilot. Applicants for positions of Editor must be presented in writing giving full particulars of his qualifications. The National Council must investigate all qualifications before considering the applications."

As has been said, tempers were ruffled at times, especially after Mulderig blasted on the Convention floor. The following highlights from Mulderig's speech didn't help the Comrades' frayed nerves:

"(Mulderig)—The West Coast will go down the line with you one hundred per cent if you elect your officials and if the Party gets their hands out of the picture. I just came in

this morning and as I look around here, I see quite a few party men here—quite a bloc of them here this morning.

"If this is your attempt to organize the industry, you will, instead of organizing, destroy what it has taken years to build. Why don't you let the membership vote on who they want as their leaders.

"I can tell you a few of the Party men here. There is Richard Graham of Norfolk; Bobby Meers of New Orleans; Patrick Whalen, the would-be-dictator of Baltimore. Then there's Palazzi of Philadelphia; and Blackie Myers, who is staring me in the face—a good member of the party. And there is Jack Lawrenson. Somebody told me he was going to ship out but he is still sitting here.

"Boys, Let's get new blood and throw out these men of the Party. Let's have East Coast and West Coast Unity.

"When it comes to the question of whether it is the seamen or the building of the party, to the members of the party, the Party always comes first and to hell with the seamen. I am not interested in any party. I happen to go to the sea for a living."

Al Lannon felt it necessary to defend the Communist Party, following the above blast by Mulderig. Quoting from page 291—Twenty-first session.

"(Lannon)—I feel a bit insulted that I wasn't singled out. I don't think it is necessary to ask Mulderig questions, because I don't think he is capable of answering questions. I have known him for a long time. I resent the remarks of this man about the CIO. I also resent this man's remarks about the Party. I am a member of the Communist Party and proud of it. There is not a man here, including Mr. Mulderig, who can say, in spite of the fact that I'm a member of the Party and have been for six years that I have ever at any time done anything that was against the interests of the rank and file. I was elected to this convention by a ship's crew.

The convention wrangled to a close having adopted a constitution, which though none too good, might have been far worse for the membership. If the Party was permitted to pursue its original course without opposition. It should be recollected that the seamen delegates who opposed them were practically unschooled in the art of double crossing and that they also lacked the benefits of the expert advice which the Communists received during the constant caucasing throughout the convention.

Despite the Communists' admittedly superior tactics and strategy, they were prevented from winning a greater victory, not entirely because they were opposed thus, but because they were forced to maintain a *cloak of pretense*. They were assiduously selling themselves to the seamen as good rank and filers and *NOT* as Communists. Therefore, as seamen, they were forced to agree to things which were consistent with the wishes of the seamen but which were, however, inconsistent with the aims and purposes of the Party.

The Party next set about allaying some of the fears aroused among the seamen. They said, "Oh, yes, it could be admitted that the proposed draft had been a little sharp. But, after all, it was only a draft submitted for revision by a democratic rank and file procedure. Certainly it could never be justly charged that the constitution had not been put together and adopted in a real rank and file way, etc., etc." . . . So, in time, the seamen voted for it and forgot all about the First Convention.

XII CP POWER POLITICS

AFTER the first convention, the Party redoubled its efforts to capture control of the three craft unions, now merged into one. Having acquired books by various means, many communists packed the joint meetings and *usually controlled them*. In the divisional meetings, they were not quite as successful, especially in the black gang (firemen), where most of the members, aware of this practice, maintained a close watch over them. The election of officials was in the offing so the Party bent itself to the task of filling all the offices with trusted Communists.

Whispering campaigns began against all who opposed the Party. They were phonies, rats, shipowners' stooges, embezzlers and a thousand other things. YCL'ers, Party members among the shipyard workers, shore-gang workers and other maritime crafts carried on the campaign up and down the coast. Comrades on the West Coast co-operated and the East Coast men were all but drowned in waves of unceasing propaganda. Slates were circulated showing the seamen the "right way" to vote, and even Curran gave out the Party's slate.

In spite of the furore, the Party was unsuccessful in placing its candidates in all positions, several of its most hated enemies being elected to office. The tide of propaganda never ceased rolling against the opposition. Party members were shipped, via the back door and other methods, aboard ships in all lines where they carried on their concerted attack against their opponents. For long, the West Side ships had led the fight against the Party's encroachments, so they moved to correct this by sending their ablest members aboard these vessels. This policy bore fruit later when the West Side ships' crews stopped their resistance.

A negotiating committee had been elected to conclude agreements with the operators, prior to the NMU elections, and negotiations were begun with these companies where the NMU had been certified by the NLRB. It should be remembered that at that time the union was in a very favorable position. There was no Maritime Commission or AF of L and the operators were being driven frantic by the sit-down technique which the union employed whenever it saw fit. As a consequence of the prevailing conditions, the owners were willing to sign *agreements which would have given the East Coast seamen* as good, and in some cases, *better conditions* than were provided in the West Coast contracts.

The deck and engine Division negotiators had very good agreements drawn up which the operators were willing to sign. However, they absolutely rejected the agreement offered by the Stewards' negotiators, F. Smith and Ted Lewis. Only one of the main stumbling block was the demand of the Stewards for an eight-hour day in a spread of twelve hours on passenger vessels. Endless days and weeks were spent in bickering with both sides refusing to give ground. Gradually the seamen's strong bargaining position was weakened! The AF of L re-entered the field with a new union on the East and Gulf Coasts: The Maritime Commission resurrected an old law providing for the maintainance of Sea Service Bureaus by the Board of Marine Inspection and Navigation. After the Independence Hall fiasco (ordered by Tommy Ray, then secretary of the N. Y. Maritime Council) the Maritime

Commission shipped all their men through these bureaus where formerly they had shipped through the union halls. The sit-down strike was invalidated as a union weapon through a court decision.

The Algic incident occurred and its NMU crew was convicted by a jury after a long campaign carried on by both sides through the press and radio. New restrictive legislation providing for compulsory mediation was readied against the seamen by various lobbies in Washington. Comrades Curran, Ray, Rathborne, Lawrenson and Whalen added to the general turmoil with their party-line attacks on the Commerce Committee and other officials in Washington. After much furious name calling, the compulsory mediation idea was dropped and a voluntary mediation board was created.

While this went on, the negotiating committee still made no progress with the owners. The American Steamship Owners' Association was reorganized into the American Merchant Marine Institute. The owners certified under the Wagner Act, designated this Institute as their bargaining agent. The union negotiating committee was instructed to conduct all future negotiations with the Institute. *The opportunity for an excellent agreement had slipped by.*

Seeing the handwriting on the wall, Curran and his comrades went to the membership, saying, "the District Committee is overburdened with work and you must not expect them to do everything. That is impossible therefore you must elect a rank and file committee to carry on." Three men from each district were elected in the Atlantic and Gulf to meet with the Institute. They arrived at the best possible agreement they could possibly obtain in view of the changed conditions. This agreement *WAS* submitted to a referendum vote of the membership and following acceptance, was signed by the union and the operators.

Later, Curran and the comrades stated that "certain stooges" had been "fixed" thus enabling the operators to "get away with such a poor agreement." Lemmon who had unwisely accepted nomination and election to this committee, became the victim of a vicious, whispering campaign. Though he was running for election on the ballot, he resigned in sheer disgust. Later when he went to work for the Maritime Commission the comrades shook their heads and their tongues violently.

Here was proof of his perfidy! He had been rewarded with this job!

Curran and the comrades never did tell the membership the real truth—that it was Smith and Lewis, negotiating for the stewards originally, who had prevented all the members from getting good agreements.

The newly elected officials took office and their troubles began. The party line for public consumption, was that—they were now solidly behind the new officers. The membership elected them henceforth the membership's wishes were to be followed, etc. Actually, the Party aided by Curran *never stopped its work of undermining all those opposing them.*

Though the old sub-committee on finance had stated on the eve of the elections, through C. Lieberman, that the union owed only \$17,000, King soon learned that the debt approximately \$75,000 when he took office. Debtors were clamoring for their money, some justly so. Many of these debts reached as far back as the

Spring strike, the greater amount being owed to lawyers. Foremost in demanding their money were those two "good rank and file counselors," Hyman Glickstein and Sam Blinken. A look back into the record shows a meeting held in the Manhattan Lyceum, Sunday, May 24, 1936, where Glickstein said:

"That all attorneys who had been working for the strike did so not for money but to help build a militant progressive labor movement. That we must continue on until we win not only for ourselves but for the best interests of all organized labor."

Other attorneys made like statements, but times do change! Glickstein and Sam Blinken dropped their "altruism" promptly when they saw money coming into the union treasury. Each wanted \$10,000 respectively, for "rank and file" services rendered. . . . The other lawyers, not to be outdone, wanted theirs. Approximately \$50,000 of the total indebtedness was owed to these "rank and file" counselors. Even Curran became frightened when he saw the array of "legal talent" gathered around the pork barrel and waited at a membership meeting, "Because of the great difficulty that the union is experiencing from lawyers and others trying to milk the union of its funds * * *"

King proposed and effected, a two dollar special debt retirement fund which was used to pay old debts. Before he was ousted, he had succeeded in paying most of the indebtedness. All the attorneys had been paid after they agreed to scale their bills down somewhat. For example, one \$10,000 legal "defender" settled for \$1,500. Standard was the only one left unpaid, however, it should not be concluded from this that he was being slighted financially. For some reason best known to themselves, the Party did not want these debts paid off as certain letters between party members revealed.

The party continued its battle to gain control using whispering campaigns and character assassinations. A continuous stream of letters poured in to the Pilot attacking certain officials and their policies. When an examination of union files revealed that many of these letters, supposedly from bona-fide seamen on ships, were actually written by ghost writers signing fictitious names, and book numbers, Comrades Chamberlain and Paxton declared they would stop the practise. *It was never done.*

XIII CURRAN'S COLLUSION

MANY members openly revolted against the Communist domination of their paper and at one point, the membership demanded an investigation of the Pilot. It became necessary for Curran and King to visit the print shop when the paper went to press (in their capacities as members of the editorial staff). On one of these occasions, while discussing events, Curran finally dropped the pretense he had maintained so long. He said he had attended a meeting of the Top Faction (CP) where they had discussed ways and means of getting rid of King. (He seemed quite proud and flattered then to have been thus "honored"). He said that Foster, Amter, Krumbein and others favored bringing matters to a head and had advocated an open attack against King. Ray, however, counseled against this, because King was too well known among the seamen. Curran related that it was finally agreed to first *undermine* King gradually and then *attack* him openly.

King proposed that Curran take an open stand against the Party with the membership. He told Curran that he would support him wholeheartedly until his position was secure from attack by the Party. Curran replied: "I don't think you can beat the Party and I am going to string along with them." Following that the two were no longer friendly and Curran openly aided the comrades against King. Comrade Chamberlain was fired by King for distorting an article shortly afterwards and Comrade Paxton became editor.

The membership, irritated by the arrogant attitude of the office workers (mostly comrades), began to demand their dismissal. This became a major issue within the union with Curran and the Party fighting tooth and nail against their dismissal.

XIV THE CP NETWORK

AFTER the formation of the NMU, C. Leiberman became office manager. Prior to this he had been the firemen's bookkeeper. He and Dorothy Snyder had gone to work for the firemen when they had first opened up their office in a dingy little basement on West 22nd Street. In his new position as office manager, he hired the stenographers and bookkeepers for the rapidly growing NMU, being careful to hire only *picked* comrades for these jobs.

Dorothy Snyder appointed herself shop chairman of these office workers and thus was able to exercise control over them. Finally so many office workers were hired from the UOPWA that the seamen commented frequently on the size of the office staff. The UOWPA was called the "WPA of the NMU" thereafter. The Party ordered a closer watch over Curran's activities and accordingly they decided to make Dorothy Snyder his "private" stenographer. At a District Committee meeting—September 30, 1937, Frederick (Blackie) Myers set out to do the job:

"(Myers)—The chairman feels that the nature of Brother Curran's work is joint work and it is impossible for him at all times to keep all members of the District Committee in-

formed of matters he is attending to. For this reason I feel that Brother Curran should have a competent secretary, one thoroughly familiar with the Union and its activities who will be available 8 hours a day so that all members can go to this secretary and get any desired information and I make in the form of a recommendation that this person be Dorothy Snyder, who is now working for the Engine Division, because of her experience in the affairs in the NMU."

Curran was well aware that Dorothy Snyder was to be the Party "watchdog" placed over him and he objected furiously in not too polite language. Myers was insistent and the argument waged on to the point where Curran became so outspoken concerning Snyder that she left the committee room in a huff. (At that particular time there was no love lost between Curran and her but they made up afterwards). After a while King and Phillips made a motion which carried, empowering Curran to select his own "private" secretary as he saw fit. For some reason or other, Curran changed his mind following this meeting. *The next day Dorothy Snyder became his private stenographer.*

Moe Byne, Frank Jones and C. DeGress had previously been appointed as a sub-committee to handle all finances for the three departments now fused into one, pending the forthcoming election of officers. Ostensibly this trio was handling the union's finances, but it was C. Lieberman who actually handled all the records and money. They acted as the front and signed the checks and necessary documents in their capacities as trustees for their respective divisions.

Since Byne, Jones and DeGress were all CP members at the time, there was no hitch in this working arrangement and the records and finances of the union were now in the hands of the Party completely. (DeGress later broke with the Party when it told him not to run in the elections. He ran for office and was elected. He later assisted the rank and file in the Gulf to fight the Party).

The Communist Party had been working very hard to complete its network and install only women Party members in all the out-of-town port offices. Justine O'Connor, 265 Bolton Street, South Boston, was the bookkeeper at union headquarters, at Boston. She had worked previously at the Communist Party headquarters in Boston where the Communist election returns listed her as "Justine O'Connell." John Palmer, office delegate, was also a Party member. Agents Thomas McGowan (Eng.), Robert Mills (Deck), and Clarence Wardell (MC & S.), were all Party members as were delegates Walker, Moutal (Montell), Frank Gaffney, Santos, Fishman and Manago. It was therefore comparatively easy for the Communist Party to carry on its marine activities in "District One" (New England area) using Boston as its headquarters.

Others who worked for the Party there were, J. Walsh, Party member, who sometimes posed as a "Trotskyite" and who was last reported organizing at New Bedford. Comrades Sidney Stern, 249 Norwell St., Dorchester, and Josephs Alberts, 112 Borden St., Fall River, worked in the Fall River and Providence area. (Alberts was subsequently shifted to Norfolk, Virginia). Comrade Mrs. Coburn (Miss Lee) was the union bookkeeper in Fall River and her husband, who operated under the Party name of "Golding" was also active in promoting Party work. In the

report on "subversive activities" of a Special Commission in the State of Massachusetts, it was stated:

"In order that Comrades, strangers in eastern ports, might be properly directed to the local Party headquarters and to avoid the danger that a strange Comrade might reveal his affiliation to a non-member, it had been so maneuvered by the summer of 1937 that all women bookkeepers in the NMU offices in the chief ports were members of the Party. A Comrade in a port thus could show his travel card to her in safety, and receive proper direction."

Anna Burlak, state secretary for the Party in Rhode Island, was also active in union affairs as will be shown later.

The Party's next step was to install CP office workers in all the ports on the Coast and then the Party circle would be complete. They were especially desirous of completing this last step in order to prevent recurrences of the Port Arthur fiasco. Martin Garnier, agent of that port, during the early days, had gone on a bender and before he was discovered, had spent \$1,100.00 of the union's money, including money collected for the "John Link Defense Fund."

All knew that Garnier was a Communist and it was feared that his actions would injure the "prestige" of the Party among the seamen, so Roy B. Hudson proceeded to Texas where he met with Homer Brooks, a district organizer in charge of that area for the Party. They made plans to *cover up* the shortage. Stephen Harvey, present educational director for the union, was down there. It was known that he had his war bonus money with him. Smith Hopkins and Hudson borrowed several hundred dollars from him which helped to *cover up* the missing amounts. Harvey was not quite as unselfish or altruistic as might be supposed from the foregoing since he figured on being rewarded with the agent's job.

While the elections for agent were being held, Harvey was arrested and held by the police for questioning. When he was released, the new agent had been elected. Harvey demanded his money back and GOT a run around. He came back to New York threatening to tell all. Tommy Ray promised he would be repaid if he would return *all* the letters and telegrams in his possession which were signed by certain CP officials.

Harvey met Pat Lawrenson at the union headquarters and turned over these documents. The Party then terrorized him with goons and threats. Badly frightened, he telephoned the nearest police station and obtained an escort from the Seamen's House Annex at Jane and West Sts. to the Greyhound Bus Station and he fled to Baltimore.

Upon reconsideration the Communists realized their error. Harvey, according to report, was the youngest American World War Veteran and had once been especially honored by President Roosevelt. Such treatment of this brother might have disastrous repercussions.

Whalen was ordered to mollify him so shortly thereafter Harvey was put on the Algic Committee in Baltimore. A short while later he became the statistician to his "dear friend" the president of the union.

Paddy Whalen also caused the Party some bad moments through his continual disobedience and infractions of Party rules. One Sunday in June, 1938, Whalen was arrested in New Jersey while on his way to New York. In the car with him were

his bookkeeper, two delegates and the Communist Party organizer for the State of Maryland, one, Benny Fields, alias Isadore Friedman, alias Isaac Friedman. A gun was found in the car and they were subsequently charged with possession of same and disorderly conduct. Whalen told the police that he was on his way to union headquarters to have his books audited. He was *really* on his way to Party headquarters. The Party was furious with Paddy for his *faux-pas* but he told them to spring him, or he'd sing. They got busy springing him.

Curran, speaking at the Deck Division meeting February 8, 1938, dutifully carried out the Party line. The minutes say:

"(Curran):—The gun that was carried was carried because they usually transport large sums of money between Headquarters and Baltimore, and obviously this whole affair is just another one of those frameups and Hague's attempt to defeat the CIO in Jersey City. Our men have been charged with disorderly conduct and possession of a weapon. Even under the laws of Jersey, and these laws are vicious, the term for these charges is not more than one year, and the fact that our men have been held on bail of \$10,000 apiece shows that the severity of the term is simply because they are CIO men. And if Hague thinks he is going to frame any member of this Union, he may come to the point where he will find that Jersey City will have no ships sailing in and out of the port. We are not going to tolerate any frameups against this Union or the CIO."

It did not become necessary, as Curran threatened, however, to take all the ships from Jersey City. Bail was posted and Paddy was returned to Baltimore to the great detriment of that unfortunate community. The facts concerning this case were significant in that Paddy was arrested on a Sunday *when there was no one in the union hall* excepting delegate James Purcell. He was quite surprised, on answering the phone, to find it was the Jersey police on the other end of the line and *they* were not trying to ship out through the hall.

Curran and the others neglected to state that Fields was in the car at the time of the arrest, you may be certain. Again, Whalen never transported large sums of money to New York. Notorious for his "independence," Paddy kept as much as he could get his paws on in Baltimore banks, refusing to transmit it to New York. This was one reason why the Party continually sought to chastise him. In September, 1937, the money was withdrawn from Baltimore. The clearance system of dispatching money by automatic bank draft was adopted to send *all* amounts over \$100.00 to headquarters.

At the time he claimed he was transporting "large sums" to New York, there was no appreciable amount in the Baltimore bank. Whalen's balance of over \$700.00 had been withdrawn on signature cards of the three members of the sub-committee on finance, Byne, Jones and De Gress, on the latter's instructions to the bank. So the union's money was spent on this trip of Paddy's, whereas the Party should have paid; since it was for *their* audit that Paddy was really coming to New York. As Curran and Myers said at later meetings following the arrest . . . "It was an obvious frameup . . ." certainly the records of the "citizens" riding in the car didn't warrant their being held by the police. Their records were:

Delegate: Charles, alias, Walter Hansen, "Scoop".

Criminal record as far as known: Bklyn, NY. Truancy, 3 month Training School. . . .

Children's Court 4/25/10, As Charles Hansen, Bklyn, NY. Burglary, Officers McClune, 145th Prct. Guilty, Elmira Ref'ty. . . . Judge Fawcett.

12/19/12, As Walter Hansen, Bklyn, NY. Attempt Burglary, Officers O'Dea, DD, Dismissed. . . .

4/12/13, As Walter Hansen, Bklyn, NY. Petit Larceny, Guilty, 3 mos. B.I. Penty Spec. Sessions Court. . . . Officer's name not given.

11/14/13, As Walter Hansen, Bklyn, NY. Petit Larceny, Officer Ferguson, 145th Prct., Guilty, One year B.I. Pen'ty, Judge Fleming.

4/12/15, As Walter Hansen, Bklyn, NY. Attempt Burglary, Officer Howerline, 145th Prct., Guilty, 1 year and 8 months, Sing Sing, Escaped Auburn Prison 1/23/16.

1/28/19, As Charles Hansen, Bklyn, NY. Escaped Prisoner, Officer Carberry, 89th Sqd. . . . Turned over to Keeper Murphy, Auburn Prison.

10/2/31, As Charles Hansen, Balto, Md. Vio. Motor Veh. Law, Dismissed.

10/2/31, As Charles Hansen, Disorderly Conduct and Common Assault. Guilty, Fined \$6.00 and Costs.

3/24/32, As Charles Hansen, Baltimore, Md. Vio. Motor Veh. Law, Guilty, Fined \$10.00 and costs.

3/28/38, As Charles Hansen, Baltimore, Md. Vio Motor Veh. Law, Guilty, Fined and Dismissed.

Delegate: Jesse F. Suttka, alias Bud Lee, alias James Malone.

12/11/24, As Bud Lee, received at Ohio State Refty., Mansfield, Ohio No. 17415, term 1 to 20 years, charge, larceny of Motor Vehicle.

9/13/27, As J. F. Suttka, Salt Lake City, Utah No. 2412, Vagrancy, no final dispos.

12/31/32, As Jess F. Suttka, Mason City, Iowa, No. 3969, Investigation, rel'd 1/1/33.

1/31/33, As James Malone, Mt. Vernon, NY, Investigation, released.

Whalen, Agent, and Weinkrant, bookkeeper: No records other than minor violations.

Last of the group was Comrade Benny Fields, alias Isadore, alias Isaac Friedman, who was at that time the Party organizer in Maryland as stated. His record follows:

1/20/17, As Isadore Friedman, NY City, Felonious assault, Officer Stagemole, 159th Prct., Sentence 3 mos. Workhouse.

8/14/19, As Isaac Friedman, NY City, Anarchy, Officer Newman, Bomb Sqd., No dispo.

Obviously, the police had no reasons to suspect these "honest" proletarians.

Meanwhile a sharp struggle was going on within the bookkeepers' union itself and the members of that group were fighting to throw off the Stalinist yoke of oppression that was being placed around their necks. Charges of bosses' stooges, labor spies, Trotskyite and all the rest were being bandied about. Office workers in San Francisco left the CIO and rejoined the AF of L.

Following their 2nd National Convention held in Washington, D. C., on May 18, 1938, Local 34 voted 95 to 5 secede from the CIO. The internal fight in local 16 at New York became acute and nearly 500 members left the CIO and returned to the AF of L, under a new leadership. Fearful this movement might spread, the Party renewed it's drive to secure "key" positions in the labor field through job security. They demanded contracts for their office workers with the NMU.

Hiding their real aims behind high sounding phrases like "security for a sister CIO union" and preservation of "our" rotary system, they clamored for signed contracts. This matter became quite an issue. It should be remembered in spite of their claims, however, that the UMW in Washington, the leading CIO union,

being aware of the true nature of this organization, did not employ its office help from their locals. Katherine Lewis, in hiring UMW office help, was very careful that no Communists gained access to headquarters records. Each office worker employed at Washington was immediately inducted into the United Mine Workers' Union on an industrial basis.

The seamen eventually became aroused over the arrogant methods of the office workers and the Party. Sharp debates went on in meetings aboard ship and ashore. Resentment mounted and finally a group of seamen visited the fifth floor of New York headquarters and chased all the office workers out. The comrades called the police and then added to the general confusion by issuing conflicting statements.

A group of seamen went to CP waterfront headquarters (230 7th Avenue) after the affair on the fifth floor where they became involved in a fight. Marcus Siler, NMU Engine Division, a former union janitor at New Orleans, shot a fellow comrade in the scuffle and the police arrested the lot of them. Among those arrested in this affair were many of the office workers who had been chased out of the union hall earlier in the day. According to the list given to reporters, they were as follows:

On Second Floor

James Patterson; Betsy Miles; Mark Robert De Groot; Morris Colman; Jean Reed; Jack Tobias.

On Fourth Floor

Loius David; Raymond Turner; Phillip (Beevo) Miller; Ferdinand Smith; Marvin Browning; Thomas Ray; Joe Bowman; Abigail Flint; Diana Davidow; Ann Rollins; Jean Marley; Silvia Darrow; Jean Arras; Silvia Hurrey; John Koven; Betty Taft; Grace Hylie; Waldo Reckman; Silvia Zeit; Viola Kole; Helen Davis; Herman P. Levine; Ann Cannon; Harriet McClune; Abby Colman; Norma Warner; Helen Wolf; Joe Lint.

On Third Floor

William Simms; Arthur Graff; Charles Allen; Geo. Anderson; Ed. Cronin; Harry Goldstick; Wm. MacDougal; Martin Neivns; Robert Boynton; E. Hoffman; A. Garabedian; Larry Simons; Sam Marcowitz; James (Scotty) Edwards; John Keefe; Murray Winocour (known as Wino); Arthur Lavido; Chas. Lewits; Charles Walker; Pat Lawrenson; E. Winfield; Herbert Karnsdorf; Carl Bradley; Al. Scheck; James Ryley; Charles O'Neil; Henry Annison; Joe Smith; Julie Robertson; John Robertson; Chas. Jack Flaherty; Alex. Bell; Joseph Emrali; Governor Armour; Ted Lewis; J. Rodriguez; John Rosseau; S. Anderson; Wm. O'Hara; R. F. Davidson; W. A. Clement; Gustav Jensen; Albert Lannon; Robert McElroy.

In Room on Third Floor

Ray Gold; Jean Seeber; Tom Ray; Linda Adams; Matilda Brown; Julian Seeber; James Chalmers; Peter Snyder.

The next day, Friday, July 29, 1938, the Party pulled a surprise joint meeting at 1:15 P.M. which they planned to pack with CP members supporting their "star speakers." The seamen were not surprised, however, and the comrades "meeting of rousing condemnation" miscarried badly. Curran was placed in an uncomfortable spot as chairman. He desperately gave the floor to the Party heavy guns, Tommy Ray, Al Lannon, J. Lawrenson, Goldstick, McKenzie, R. Perry, F. Smith and others.

He tried to confuse things by turning the mike over to Comrade Weiner, who could usually put on an act and divert the issue with his Yiddish dialect. Some of the members rose to the bait and heckled Weiner, giving Curran his expected opportunity to leap to the defense of democracy and members' rights of free speech. The act failed miserably.

The Communist speakers tried again, but the angry seamen still demanded the discharge of the office workers, specifying particularly, Dorothy Snyder. Curran said that he would quit if he could not keep her as his own stenographer. This was peculiar when one remembers the manner in which he came by her. Finally the Party members completely disrupted the meeting so that no final decision could be arrived at and it was adjourned in wild confusion.

Following this fiasco the Party was more cautious in pushing the program of the office workers but the resolutions continued to pour in from ships and meetings attacking those who opposed signing the contracts. F. C. Phillips made a sincere effort to eliminate the comrades from the District offices but Curran and Myers, backed by the powerful Party machine, frustrated his efforts in this direction. George Hearn, being a weak sister, did not dare help him, and King's authority was limited to the National office, where he promptly fired his "special" stenographer.

The Gulf District was not faced with this condition since they had already disposed of their problems.

After the elections, when the comrades failed to win out completely, they redoubled their efforts to place themselves in a better position through a signed contract. With this, the non-party officials could not discharge them and deprive the Party of its access to the union records. Local 16 of the UOWPA demanded, through their organizer, M. Yanoff, that Phillips sign the contract. Phillips stoutly refused.

He was attacked at meetings repeatedly and then Curran, Myers, Lewis and McKenzie carried the fight into the District Committee meetings. Curran, a member of the National Council, with no authority under the constitution to do so, invaded these meetings and was vigorously active in his support of the comrades.

Myers provided an amusing highlight during these arguments. According to him, anyone who proposed to violate the BS & AU's sacred rotary hiring list might be correctly suspected of consorting with labor spies, enemies of labor and their ilk. He filled the records with his dissertations and arguments showing why the contract with the office workers must be signed and why they must be hired through their local on a strictly rotary basis. Yet . . . a look at the record reveals Myers doing a "Bergoff" on the office workers "holy" rotary system. He wanted a certain stenographer back, *rotary list or no rotary list*. The District Committee minutes of October 21, 1938, expose the story:

“(Myers)—How about Ethel Rabin as my stenographer? She is a very capable girl and has been working here for one and half years and knows the running of the business.

“(Hearn)—We have all capable girls now, and I will admit that they are not all stenographers like Ethel.

“(Myers)—This is not going to be a haven or training ground for stenographers.

“(Phillips)—I wish to draw your attention to the fact that most of these girls who were

here trained with the business, and it wasn't as it is now. Dorothy Snyder was the only one who took verbatim minutes right away. Ethel had to study and take verbatim minutes. I don't know whether Yanoff will send Ethel down anyway.

"(Myers)—She is an efficient woman . . . she knows her job. There was no slip up on anything."

The discussion followed in the same vein for a while. Then Myers said:

"(Myers)—Find out if you can get Ethel back for me."

Myers shipped his stenographer off the docks, to quote his own words.

Yanoff did not howl as he did when Phillips had hired his own stenographer. The membership learned of these arguments and the District Committee, fearful of repercussions, passed the buck to the National Council.

King, Thomas, DeGress and Phillips flatly told Dorothy Snyder, Curran, Smith and Myers that they would refuse to sanction a contract with Local 16 of the UOPWA (BS & AU) because of the obvious communist connections of the office workers* and the control they exercised over the NMU. After the National Council meeting, when the various officials had returned to their ports and King had gone to the Gulf, Smith and Curran signed with the bookkeepers' union, disregarding the membership at sea and their own authority, under the constitution.

XV PARTY VERSUS UNION

AFTER Curran and Smith signed the contract with the bookkeepers' union that fight gradually subsided. Ultimately it died completely. The comrades, careful not to fan the flames around it any more, continued their undercover attacks. Occasionally, however, the membership would rise in revolt through sheer disgust. In Boston, for example, where the comrades operated most brazenly, the membership, at one meeting told the Party in no uncertain terms what they thought of them. One or two Party members got themselves dumped that night and the Party had "*a cause celebre*."

Meetings in Norfolk, Philadelphia and Baltimore, especially, thundered against the "fascists" who had invaded the union hall wantonly seeking to deprive good members of their democratic rights! Comrade P. B. Whalen eloquently denounced those who had participated in "that shocking outrage." He recommended charges against Wm. C. McCuiston, but the latter being very well versed in the ways of the comrades was never brought up on charges for this.

Charges were brought against several others accused of being present that night at "the second Boston tea party," but the case of NMU Patrolman Patnaude of Providence, R. I., best illustrates how the Party worked and still works. Delegate Patnaude wrote a letter to King as follows:

Here as evidenced in the Burlak letter was a Party member being charged by

*At the Second CIO Convention John L. Lewis blasted certain office workers and warned regional directors not to hire communists as their secretaries. According to the New York Times and the statement issued by Lewis in Detroit at the CIO Executive Committee meeting following the close of the convention, Lewis' warning was prompted by information that some of the office workers, members of the CIO office workers' union, had furnished confidential information on Union business to Communist officials.

the Party, within the Party, for offenses allegedly committed in the NMU hall. Feeling ran high against the Communists at this time however and they trod lightly, the record shows. With the exception of Ted Lewis, Al Lannon, Arthur Lynn, few of the others had guts enough to admit their affiliations but they fought doggedly from under cover to preserve the Party when it was attacked. Curran, when the heat was on, blasted groups, cliques and factions within the union repeatedly.



National Maritime Union of America

Providence Branch

Headquarters:
126 Eleventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

376 RICHMOND STREET
Providence, Rhode Island
Phone Casper 6718

Oct. 20th 1938

Mr. Jerome King
N.M.U.
126th 11th Ave
New York, N.Y.

Dear, Bro King"

Inclosed you will find a copy of charges against me by the communist party. Also a resolution that one of the Brothers is going to submit to the membership meeting Monday night at Providence. I would like to know what day the District Committee meets so that I can come to New York for my appeal. If I could I would like to be tried by a Joint Membership meeting in New York so that I may be able to bring all this out to the membership. I will wait until I hear from so let me know by return what the next move will be.

Frat, Yours

J. B. ...

Maritime Union of America
376 RICHMOND STREET
Providence, Rhode Island



Mr. Jerome King
National Maritime Union
126 11th Ave.
New York, N. Y.

703-1000

WE ACCUSE

95

The Mariners' Club was the subject of continued acrid attacks and the mails were deluged with incoming resolutions of condemnation from all ports. If the union was to be saved from perdition, said Curran, these groups must be dissolved. This must be done at once! Other ports took up the hue and cry so that at times the meetings closely resembled old time revivalist tent meetings where all were

~~67~~

335 Westminster Street
Prov.R.I.
Jan.21st 1938

John Patnaude
50 Camden St.
Prov.R.I.

Dear Mr.Patnaude,

The following charges have been brought against you by members of the
Marine Fraction:

1. That while you joined the Communist Party in Feb.1937 you have never made an attempt to pay any dues.
2. That you have attended only some 5 meetings all together.
3. That in the past month you have fraternized with the Red-baiters in the NMU. and with anti-union elements in this port.
4. That you carried on red-baiting yourself in the union hall.
5. That you have taken an anti-CIO position.

The State Committee of your Party has set up a special committee of three people to investigate these charges and hear what you have to say on them. This Committee is composed of people who have nothing to do with the waterfront so that they can hear the charges and any defence you have without any danger of being influenced in advance.

This Committee will hold its meeting Tuesday, January 26th at 3 P.M. at
47 Jefferson St 2nd floor.

You are instructed to be there without fail. You may bring any comrades or reliable person as witness, if you feel these charges are unfounded.

If you fail to appear, we will take it for granted that the charges are correct, that you have nothing to say, and will take public action on the case.

Sincerely yours
Ann Earls.
Secretary-CP R.I.

703-~~CP~~

Providence, R. I., CP marine fraction tries NMU patrolman Patnaude for "red-baiting" in Union hall—See Baltimore resolution signed by J. (Foghorn) Russell, party "trouble-shooter"—Record shows Russell in all ports on Pacific, Atlantic and Gulf

WE ACCUSE

exhorted to repent for the salvation of their sinful souls. It was strikingly noticeable, however, that Curran in all his tirades against factions always carefully refrained from blasting the comrades! Always he pointed out to the membership the dangers of following false prophets who spoke in the name of the rank and file. He warned of traitors, spies, etc.

Never did Curran attack the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party whose headquarters were at 230 Seventh Avenue. He knew many CP NMU officials and members attended faction meetings there. He knew the Young Communist League had its waterfront office always in the immediate vicinity of NMU headquarters. He knew they issued their papers, called the "Beacon" the Focslé Forum, and the Quartermaster among the seamen. He knew they mailed YCL minutes, news bulletins and other printed matter to NMU members aboard ships sometimes in care of the union halls. He knew also that Commisar Roy B. Hudson

October 3, 1938

RE: CHARGES FILED AGAINST JOHN PATNAUDE;
AMOS VOISINET; BOLESIA SZURSDA; ILLIAM
MCQUISTON;

AT JOINT MEETING OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE
PORT OF BALTIMORE ON OCTOBER 3, 1938.

TO ALL PORTS AND TO HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK CITY:

Please post on your blackboard the following enclosed notice of charges against JOHN PATNAUDE, AMOS VOISINET, BOLESIA SZURSDA, ILLIAM MCQUISTON,

and the following notice marked "A". You will find enclosed also copies of charges which should be delivered to the accused members who may desire a copy of same, to enable them to prepare their defense.

703-

G. D. Cippagocce (1111)

E. B. Strickland (3396)

W. E. Funch (6857F)

E. L. Cumbre (1159A) 1st

J. Russell (111111)

TRIAL COMMITTEE

addressed meetings of seamen at the Spartacus Club. Joe Kane, Deck Department official, attended one meeting and later made no secret of it blasting all over the waterfront about it.

Despite all of this and much more, the record shows Curran always ignoring completely the existence of the comrades who swarmed like demented political maggots under his nose, but many of the members were aware of these things too and they kept applying the heat to Curran and his comrades, until it became unbearable. Curran was becoming desperate and on June 7, 1938 at a Deck Division meeting the impossible happened. Curran blasted the Comrades???

Quotes from page 4, Deck Division meeting:

"(Curran)—We will be reaching the parting of the ways in the union unless there is a definite stoppage immediately in the activities of groups in the union. This of course applies to every one.

"We have reached a stage where the shipowners are looking for us to destroy what we

V

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Be the Brotherhood sailing out of the ports of Bridgewater, New Haven, New London, Providence, Fall River, New Bedford, Worcester, Portsmouth, and Buzzards, maintaining the great injustice done to the four great Black-Pink Brothers by the Baltimore Branch, And

Whereas, These Bro's John Patman, 0450 Eng., James Veal, 0480 Eng., Bogdan Sambo, 0480 Eng., William Nequition were tried by Communist Party Stewards and not by the B.M.N. and

Whereas, This same thing can happen to any of us militant Bro's who may oppose the organized or unorganized Communist Marine Fraction and.

Whereas, All of us who oppose this Fraction are "labeled as A.F.L. Stewards, Bobbies, ship owners, Stewards & Gayr Militants, etc.

Therefore, Be it Resolved that we go on record as supporting these Bro's who were suspended. And, be it further resolved that we consider ourselves suspended until such time as these great militant Bro's in this Organization, And the Port of Baltimore make a proclamation of the slanderous charges made against this party & the ship sailing out of these ports. And

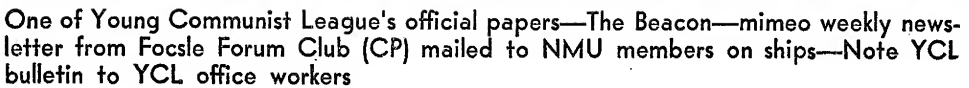
Be it further, Resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to all ports for concurrence or Non Concurrence, To all ships and district Committees and be published in the Pilot..

Submitted by

703 ~~IPEU~~

Sec. by

Shaggy Keweenaw
Thomas Orr 7234
CIV



Page 4 DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1939

SEAMEN, DOCK WORKERS, TEAMSTERS ASK CIO-AFL UNITY

Ryan's Lies On Pacific Wage Scales Are Exposed

Longshoremen Tell of Actual Work Conditions

By a United Longshoremen Team, after many years, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have been able to bring about the unification of the waterfront and dock workers. This is a great step forward for the workers, and it is a step which the employers have been unable to bring about for many years.

The new union, the United Longshoremen Team, is a union of the waterfront and dock workers. It is a union which is made up of the best of the waterfront and dock workers. It is a union which is made up of the best of the waterfront and dock workers.

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The Waterfront Speaks

An Editorial

Every month, the waterfront workers and teamsters will send the employers to their knees before the members of the Daily Worker.

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Capt. Hourihan Pays Tribute to Maritime Veterans

American Seamen Placed in Building the Famous Plymouth Brigade, the Navy

By Captain Martin Gorman

Two months, the waterfront workers and teamsters will send the employers to their knees before the members of the Daily Worker.

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NAMU Protests Arrests of Ship Worker by Nazis

By a United Longshoremen Team, after many years, the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have been able to bring about the unification of the waterfront and dock workers. This is a great step forward for the workers, and it is a step which the employers have been unable to bring about for many years.

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Seamen Ask Franchise And Social Protection

Fight on With Labor Love

By C. L. Gable

The seamen are asking for franchise and social protection. They are asking for the right to vote and for social security. They are asking for the right to vote and for social security.

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Natl Marine Union Emerges United in Fight With Shippers

DEMOCRACY AT SEA



Seamen organized under the new union, the National Marine Union.

Teamsters Locals Push Progressive Rank-File Drive

Barstow, Illinois, Officials Getting Staff Fight from Rank and File, Told

By a Local Official

New York teamsters in the International Brotherhood are pushing the progressive movement in the union. They are pushing the progressive movement in the union.

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Foc'sle Club Growing With Marine Youth

By Barry Kane

The Foc'sle Club is growing with marine youth. It is a club for the young people of the waterfront and dock workers. It is a club for the young people of the waterfront and dock workers.

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Al Foster, Thurs. 8 p.m. Webster Hall, Maritime Memorial

Daily Worker devotes entire page to waterfront—Note Al Lannon complete column—Jack Flaherty and Foc'sle Forum Club

ourselves have built up by hard struggle. They take the position that they will not have to wait long or spend any sum of money to break the union that is divided into factions who will do this work for them.

"There is no room in this or any organization for politics to be placed ahead of the economic principles of the Union, and it must be kept out of the union. In the past there has been a great deal of maneuvering done by some members of the Communist Party and other groups and cliques to further their own ends, which ends are in no way connected with the economic principles of this or any other union in this country and therefore detrimental to the welfare of the membership of this union. ***

"I am taking this opportunity of serving notice on the members and officials of this union who are members of groups or the Communist Party that there will be no toleration of this policy. Anyone attempting to inject politics ahead of the Union's real purpose should certainly be dealt with severely by the membership. We must lay down a course that will insure the safety of the membership economically. We have a common enemy to fight and we will not serve the membership by serving two masters. The membership should point out to any officials or members that when they attempt to bring the policy of any political group or party into the union they are violating the economic principles of the union and should in the interests of the thousands of members that have placed their trust in them as leaders, either resign or be brought up on trial for betraying that trust. ***

"I am calling on all members to rally behind this stand.

"1. No politics of any nature shall be tolerated in the union that supercedes the principles of the Union.

"2. Anyone guilty of injecting politics of any nature contrary to the economic principles of the Union to be charged definitely with anti-union activities.

"3. That no member or official place his political affiliation above that of the Union. Affiliation to the Union should be considered the most important while working in the union business.

"4. That we call all groups and cliques to immediately cease their activities that are proving detrimental to the Union.

"5. That any members taking part in secret meetings outside the Union Hall which may be called to inject policy into the Union be dealt with if discovered on the basis of anti-union activities and subject to trial and suspension for it."

Curran thus sought to placate the membership that night and also disguise the real content of the five-point program he wanted to put over. He did deceive many of them with his speech which had been carefully prepared by his comrades. The Party knew the seamen's resentment against it was rapidly reaching a dangerous (for it) climax. They and Curran had always been very careful to keep the seamen in complete ignorance that he was one of them for exactly such emergencies as this. The Mariners' Club at this stage was powerful and had succeeded in arousing the seamen against the Party. *No Party member dared* get up at this particular meeting and propose measures against the club but the Party was paving the way for future action against club members.

Curran did not dare either to openly attack the club or to suggest its members be chastized for attending meetings outside of the union hall but immediate steps were necessary to wean the angry seamen back into the fold. How could this best be done? Very simple. Let Curran denounce the object of their ire and they would clasp him to their bosoms again. So it was done. He stood before them with his tongue in his cheek, denounced the Party *and recommended that any member who took part in any meetings outside the union halls be subjected to trial and expulsion*. His "denunciation" of the comrades soothed the angry members

who had previously wanted his scalp and at the same time he unobtrusively paved the way for future action against the Party's foes.

Myers followed Curran with the Party line:

"I agree with all the proposals made by Brother Curran. I feel that the interests of the National Maritime Union should be placed before anything else. . . . The question of groups and cliques and parties has been raised repeatedly and I am of the opinion that any politics affecting the NMU should be formulated and raised right here within the walls of the union. Any groups or cliques or parties who attempt to formulate any program affecting our organization should be severely treated by the membership.

"It is time we stopped kidding around with calling each other names and get down to building our union. Let's stop calling this guy a shipowner's stooge, the other a commie and this a redbaiter. All of us are seamen. We all want the same things. The only way to obtain these things is through united action and a strong democratic union controlled by the membership."

Myers continued talking of democracy which was something neither he nor any other Stalinist believes in or practices. It was a good theme for a "pep-talk." All comrades used the word freely. Myers' talk of formulating policies inside the union hall was still funnier . . . he who had refused to attend District Committee meetings on any dates that conflicted with the meetings of his fraction (CP). He admitted this at a district committee meeting and when his admission became known, he wanted to have Phillips dumped, blaming him for having talked. This meeting backfired in an amusing manner. Curran blasting the CP was news! The papers carried stories on it. Here was ugly headed heresy in the making! Curran hastily issued press statements correcting the "erroneous rumors" that were abroad. There were no communists in the NMU! Some employers' stooges were responsible for the lying reports in the capitalist press! But even the left-wing press featured Curran's unprecedented action! One such paper, describing itself as a "Libertarian Communist Journal," had this to say:

"As we go to press we learn that Curran has launched an attack against the communist party. But even more loudly he attacks the rank and file, going to the extent of expelling Loones for editing the rank and file Pilot.

"The attack by Curran against the CP appears to follow from the great discredit the CP has undergone among maritime workers. It seems that Curran is leaving a sinking ship."

That was the only time that Curran did blast the Communist Party. Later he appeared before a Congressional committee in Washington, D. C., and read a prepared statement into the record, purportedly written by him. The statement was actually written by Ray, then secretary of the N. Y. maritime council, and transcribed by Besse Dlugin (stenographer), Curran "said" that he was not a communist; never had been one and he thought he never would be one. He avowed the communists were the only ones who had accomplished anything for the workers.

Statement
OF THE
Waterfront Section
OF THE
Communist Party
TO THE
Membership
OF THE
N. M. U.

has been established. THERE IS NO LONGER NEED FOR GROUPS OF ANY KIND. Any group that functions in the Union today is violating the principle of democracy in the Union, and can do nothing but sow confusion and dissension in the Union.

Issued by the WATERFRONT SECTION
COMMUNIST PARTY
230 Seventh Avenue
New York City

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709-~~IPFU~~

Official CP statement to NMU membership on "groups" within union???

XVI PILOT VERSUS PILOT

OCTAVE LOONES, formerly a close friend of Curran and the comrades, had started the Rank and File Pilot. Loones had also been an ISU delegate under David E. Grange and sold out to the rank and file when he saw that they were really becoming powerful. For some reason still known only to Curran and himself, he had a falling out with the NMU. Then he proposed to a group of rank and filers that a paper be put out exposing Communist activities within the union. They agreed that his name should be carried on the paper's masthead since he did not care about expulsion. However, an old dog does not learn new tricks easily and Loones resorted to his double crossing tactics after the second issue of that paper, the rank and filers' suspicions were confirmed when it was proven that Loones had "gone South" with a contribution from the SS Excalibur and they booted him out.

The paper continued with support coming mainly from the passenger vessels and *its effectiveness* drove the Communists frantic. The entire Party machine was rallied on a national basis to combat this new menace. Very carefully at first in meetings a spy psychosis was built up and more carefully nursed along. The membership was drowned with resolutions, speeches, endless propaganda. Loones was brought up on charges and a Trial Committee elected to act on his case. Chamberlain, the Editor of the NMU Pilot, was called in for an opinion on the probable cost of the Rank and File Pilot. Quoting from minutes of the Loones Trial Committee:

"(Chamberlain)—A sheet of that size will cost \$45.00 for one thousand copies. Twelve thousand copies would cost about \$75.00, because once your type is set, this is the main composition, etc. an additional press run and a little additional stock—I would say about \$75.00 to \$80.00".

Comrade Kitson continued to question Loones about where he got his money. Loones answered, quoting same minutes:

"(Loones)—The money is coming from members of the Union only, and not from the shipowners, not from the AF of L by any means; not from Patty Keane either. He is broke." [The Patty Keane referred to was the old MFWO Chairman].

Curran then revealed that he knew very well that the ships were contributing to the Rank and File Pilot when he said: From the minutes:

"(Curran)—A point that is important—the other day on the American Importer a man went aboard to make a collection to get rid of the phoney officials. He beat it off when the Engine delegate got hold of him. I don't believe he is working for the AF of L, but I do know that a certain clique is sponsoring him."

When asked how many copies of the paper he was getting out Loones answered 12,000 and as shown Chamberlain estimated very accurately the cost of this to be approximately \$75.00. Stacey, another member of the trial committee, who knew that the ships were supporting the Rank and File Pilot said to Comrade Kitson, who was the Party's prosecutor in the case:

"(Stacey)—I know where the money is coming from and you know. He doesn't have to answer. If you would walk around you would find out too."

It was significant that when the Trial Committee met to act on the original charge against Loones, which had been presented by Curran to a joint meeting on March 14, 1938, they found that Kitson, acting as secretary of the Trial Committee, had *added* several more charges to the original one. The Trial Committee reported back to a Special Joint Meeting on March 25, 1938. The Party had prepared well in advance for this meeting with Curran in the chair.

As the Party anticipated, only their man Kitson voted to expel Loones, the other three voting against expulsion. The machine then swung into action.

"Screwball" McCarthy, B. Phillips, H. Mc Kenzie, Kahn, Ted Lewis, Watter-son, J. Weiner (Yiddish Comedy Dialectician), B. Lynch, Owen Savage (not a CP—who hoped Curran would help him secure his citizenship papers), all spoke. Then Chairman Curran, with his usual "high regard" for Robert's Rules of Order, made a speech of condemnation, covering four pages of minutes—while still in the Chair. R. Perry made a long speech, quoting from many bulletins, Hearst newspapers and the West Coast Sailor, which he stated bore out his contention that Loones should be expelled. Next followed G. Lyons, Al Lannon, then J. Lawrenson for another four-page tirade. A few seamen interspersed these speeches with futile remarks, then Comrade Tony Lucio made a motion, seconded by Comrade C. Jones: "To concur with the *minority report*." J. Lawrenson asked that the vote be taken by a show of hands. CP delegates counted with the results: 224 in favor of concurring with the minority report, 12 opposed.

Curran then delivered a short dissertation on railroading and the job was done. Arthur Lynn, former union agent, contributed one of the highlights of this meeting when he said, speaking of Loones, according to page 13, March 25, 1939, joint meeting:

"(Lynn)—He says the District Committee is phoney and dominated by the Communist Party and I am a member of the Communist Party and have been for seven years and there is no one who can come here and tell me we have ever connived against the membership of this Union. What we have done when we were working against the phonies of the ISU—we did call meetings and connived against the phonies and I am an organizer of the Engine Division of the Communist Party and there is no one here who can come to me and say that I organized a meeting to connive against the Rank and File of the National Maritime Union."

Here of his own volition, Lynn stated in the NMU that *he was the organizer for the Engine Division of the Communist Party*. Curran, so often recorded as being opposed to groups and factions, said absolutely nothing to this. Strangely, here was complete refutation of his often publicized statements that there were no Communists in the NMU. Here being put into the union record, by an organizer of the Party, was a flat statement that there were Divisions in the Party corresponding with the departmental divisions in the union. Here was a frank admission that Curran's five-point program (Deck Division minutes) was being violated by NMU (CP) members. It would seem after all that there was some logic in the Rank and File Pilot's often reiterated "WHY's."

Loones' goose was cooked—that was the all-important issue the Party had wanted to settle that night—and if a member, flushed with the prospects of victory, spoke a little incautiously—well, that was to be expected.

The next step was to build the fledgling "spy scare" into an exact copy of a good, old fashioned Moscow edition. Then Comrades—the purge! Accordingly the whispering campaign was renewed with the fanatical energy only the comrades can display. Resolutions, motions, hints, insinuations, scandal! Members, some of whom could hardly spell their own names correctly, suddenly developed an uncanny aptitude for composing long, profound letters. These letters to the Pilot, of course, were all about the same subject—the "Rank and File Pilot."

Speculation mounted, grew and soon the comrades were kicking millions of dollars around in connection with that paper, with an indifference completely alien to this mob of can shaking, dollar chasers. The whispers had it (according to the Party line), that even the devil had had a financial interest in the paper. Knowing Loones of old (he had sold Grange out to them) the comrades had been trying to contact him. Finally he met "prosecutor" Curran in Standard's office. Would he put out another Rank and File Pilot, along certain lines? Certainly, since the rank and file had kicked him out, he would do it with pleasure. *For a consideration*, of course! He did!

The paper appeared making statements against the Party's enemies. Apparently its radically changed line was quite in keeping with the comrades' conception of "the line." Trained only to understand a line, which going—suddenly doubled in the middle and met itself coming back, they found this new "Pilot" more to their liking. Here was something they could appreciate! Stalin-like, Loones, now wooed with printer's ink those whom he had formerly castigated and castigated those whom he had professed to admire.

Stranger things began to happen. Party members, who had vowed their undying hatred of Loones because they *knew* he had been "paid off" by the shipowners previously, now distributed the new "revised" paper with gusto. An unexpected sight, verily! Reminiscent of another "unholy" alliance, the comrades now undid themselves in circulating the printed "word" of Loones.

Many copies were printed, costing according to their previous estimates, untold wealth! Loones, not being a wealthy man nor a philanthropist, had not paid these costs. The Party, of course did not pay them. The rank and file never laid claim to having paid them. Truly, here it would seem, was another mystery worthy of the talents of the great "prosecutor" Curran waiting to be solved.

Even Moe Byne entered into the spirit of things and gave out copies. King had been given prominent mention in the "Pilot," quite by accident, of course. Members of the union, noticeably comrades, took up the cry against "this sacrilegious treatment of their beloved national secretary." He must sue the scoundrelly Loones for libel, mopery, or something. The comrades felt so keenly about this, at least their many resolutions indicated that, it was touching. King, of course, never dreamed the great extent of their concern for him and for some reason or other he did not take steps against Loones. Standard too felt very badly over the matter and indicated in a letter to Curran that he was quite willing to pursue the law and the villainous Loones on the premise that this defamation of King constituted libel.

Still unreasonably unmoved by all this solicitude, King took no steps against

Loones. What!! said the comrades—incredible! He must be guilty as alleged, tch, tch, tch! There the matter rested until the Party was ready for the next move.

The Party was now preparing to oust every official who was not a communist but first King had to be removed from the key position he held in the organization. Things moved along with the Party watchfully waiting, when unexpectedly, matters boomeranged for them.

XVII FINK OR FAKER?

COMRADE Ferdinand Smith was brought up on charges for scabbing in the '34 West Coast strike. At an Atlantic District committee meeting, Saturday, February 5, 1938, qualifications for candidates for offices in the union were being discussed with the balloting committee. An important motion had been made which affected the status of Smith in particular. In view of what transpired it should be noted that Smith seconded this motion:

Quote from minutes; (Sic):

"M/S—Byne and Smith: That candidates for office in the National Maritime Union must be in possession of their strike clearance for the 1934 West Coast strike or have documentary notarized proof as to their whereabouts, or a discharge as having sailed on the East Coast, Lakes or Gulf during the West Coast strike or hospital or prison discharge for the period of the West Coast strike, May 16, to July 28th; A strike clearance or documentary notarized proof of whereabouts, a hospital or prison discharge for the period of the National strike from November 1st to January 24, inclusive. For those who have been sailing tankers the period is from November 1st to January 10th, inclusive.—carried."

It can be deduced from the above that even Smith was agreed that officials of the union needed certain clearances. The fact that the three members of the balloting committee were comrades also influenced later happenings, in Smith's case.

After Smith was charged, a duly elected trial committee met at headquarters, September 23, 1938, with Curran as the presiding officer. Peter J. Innes had brought one set of charges and so had Keenan and Kuhne. The committee decided to act on Innes' charges and he was asked to produce substantiation of same. Quoting from the record of the "Case of Ferdinand Smith, Vice-President of the National Maritime Union of America."

"Brother Curran (Answering Smith): The trial committee wants to see what Innes has to substantiate what he has made. It's not for you to decide what the committee wants to do.

"Brother Innes: I submit then, to this committee, a photostatic copy of the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Navigation crew list, obtained from the U.S. Custom House in the Port of New York, signed by the signature of the captain of the vessel, and signed also by the deputy clerk, dated June 23, 1934, in which Smith is listed as chief steward on board that vessel. I also based my charges on the photostatic copy filed here in the Port of New York of the clearance papers of the ship on her return voyage from the Pacific at the last port of call, issued from Los Angeles, dated August 27, 1934, signed by the master of the ship in which Smith is still listed as chief steward of the vessel, and on the back of these photostatic copies is written some notations where the ship arrived in San Pedro at 2:32 A. M. July 13 and docked at Terminal Island, pier 233, unloaded 1300 tons of cargo on July 16, 1934; 2 A.B.'s, John Johnson and Vernon Johnson paid off. She sailed from there on July 17, to San

Francisco. On that fact, I base my charges and I submit my case to the committee together with the other exhibits that I have entered.

"Brother Curran: Is that all?"

"Brother Innes: That's all, so long as the committee will not allow me to state where these statements were made."

Smith contended that in 1934, he had been a member of the MWIU and that he had been ordered to take the ship to the Coast where she would be struck. He said that when he arrived in San Pedro, the crew decided that the strike was ineffective so they decided to go to Frisco. He assumed that cargo had been worked by scab longshoremen in San Pedro but then to use his words:

"But you must remember the situation in 1934 was that not all men supported the strike on the West Coast and San Pedro was the weakest port in the Pacific Coast."

Curran at this point, seemed to differ with this opinion; quote from page 58:

"Curran: I just want to make this thing perfectly clear. I agree that from May 10th to May 30th, there was no effective strike in San Pedro. We all agree; We all know what the circumstances were. The MWIU boys started to build it up in June in Pedro and all other ports. A whole month of 31 days went by. We arrived in July. The strike had been in effect since May 10th.

"In the first two weeks of July the strike was the most vicious strike that anybody has seen in San Pedro because all the scabs out of Los Angeles were brought down. Private detectives and everything else; they tried to isolate Terminal Island from the mainland. Now, I know and have proof of two men who were killed in Terminal Island, a third who was knifed in the back and a large squad of men totaling over a hundred men were over on Terminal Island picketing the docks. George Kuck was a member of that union, was in the crowd of men and in July the strike was effective and just as effective as it could be made, in spite of the efforts of all those special police, vigilantes and everything. So I think insofar as we, especially us, who have gone through two strikes where we can't say we are effective yet we call them strikes, and we did everything we could to make them effective, I don't think we can safely say the strike was not effective there.

"However, it is up to you, Brother Smith, to show us definitely that the ship was allowed to dock; that the longshoremen working this ship and the two men that were paid off were paid off not because they wanted to join the strike. Because we haven't got such evidence here. The constitution points out that the strike record must be clear. The discussion at the convention made it clear. The question of having affidavits, all proof that you were not in the area covered by the strike or that you have a clearance from that particular strike committee in that area. If I am wrong, correct me. I believe that was what the discussion centered around and I believe that it should be done for the next three years. I think it's to the primary interest of this committee to determine and find sufficient proof. We can't go off half cocked. We can't put a man in jeopardy unless we can prove anything. So I say again that you show proof and nothing else. Because this letter that you submitted leads to believe, unless it is interpreted differently, that any ship leaving here after arriving on the West Coast should be struck. It doesn't stipulate a port; it doesn't stipulate that the crews were given authority to take action where they saw fit, or anything of that faith. And those are things that we are primarily interested in, in keeping with the constitution. It's your record, as such, in keeping with the constitution, we want. And you went through the strike area. And I would ask the committee to try to confine yourselves to these questions. Otherwise, we will be here a couple of years."

Judging from this hodgepodge of double talk by Curran, he *was certain* that the strike *was* effective at stated times in San Pedro. It was also his opinion that

Smith's vessel had docked during these times and he told Smith he wanted to see substantial proof laid before the committee to show why Smith should not be considered a scab under the existing circumstances.

Curran's language, as quoted, was strong to say the least, *yet he later reversed himself and professed to believe that there had been no effective strike in San Pedro.*

Several days later, having completed their deliberations, the trial committee declared Smith guilty at a special joint meeting—Manhattan Opera House, Monday, October 10, 1938. Curran in the chair, opened the meeting in an unusual manner:

"Curran: As president of the trial committee, I am entitled to opinions as to procedure of the trial. After the discussion has been completed, and before going to take a vote, I am going to ask the indulgence of the membership that I make a report also. (applause) The floor is open and a motion has been made."

Comrade Boutte took the floor and spoke at length slyly stressing racial aspects involved in the case. He implied as did following party speakers, that Smith was on trial as a Negro and not as a fink. As was usual at joint meetings, a few real seamen went to the "mike" and expressed their opinions in hesitant fashion. But the bulk of the speaking was done by Party speakers, Rifkin, Garabedian, Papas, Haskell, Rothbart, Garnier and others.

Smith spoke, touching on the racial angle also. He hinted he had been called a communist before the elections but he said, 12,000 seamen had voted for him. (He ran unopposed as did Curran). He concluded by warning the membership that not Smith, the individual, but Smith, the symbol of the "progressive CIO" was on trial. (The Party had packed this meeting to the hilt with comrades from all over and from many of the shore side industries. They were taking no chances of being outvoted this night).

Curran then began his "report." He said since he was not empowered to make a minority report (he had no vote on the trial committee except in the event of a tie) but, nevertheless, felt it was his "duty" to report his opinions to the membership for their consideration. To avoid any future misunderstandings, he reviewed events connected with the trial and stated his opinions of Innes, Lundeberg, Malone, O'Sullivan and Connors were unfavorable for various reasons, a few of which he cited. *He next reversed his previous opinions regarding the San Pedro strike.*

"Curran: The only evidence presented at the trial surrounding that particular ship and the period she was in San Pedro was contained in telegrams from such persons as Lundeberg, Malone, O'Sullivan and Connors, and I don't think the membership of this union need be told where these people stand and what they would do to destroy the NMU and its officials. While I do not defend anyone's sailing during the strike, I do say that where it is claimed that circumstances existed that justified sailing, it becomes difficult to take anyone's word.

"While I am forced to admit that there was a violation of our constitution, we must bear in mind the fact that the defense claimed the ship was cleared. This was not disproved, except in telegrams from these persons whom I personally do not trust. I say, that unless the official reports are brought in to prove or disprove Brother Smith's statements, the trial has been very unjust and a biased verdict has been brought in."

Curran went on stating he believed it was all part of a general plot to destroy the union. Stanley Cammer spoke shortly after Curran, declaring:

"Cammer: Brothers and Sisters, as a member of the trial committee dealing in the trial of Ferdinand Smith, I must say that there's only part of Brother Curran's report which I wish to express myself on. Brother Curran in his report, summarized that in his opinion, the trial committee was biased. Now I am not speaking for the five or six members of the trial committee. I am speaking for myself. I want to say that while the trial committee listened to the report carefully, they never found Smith guilty of scabbing; they didn't find that there were proper clearances as to the 1934 strike. Now, since Curran has made a charge on the whole committee of being biased, I want to put myself on record here to state that I, as one member of the committee, signed those charges [he meant the trial report] *after Brother Curran dictated those entire charges* [report]. (boos and applause)."

This accusation coming from the lone steward on the trial committee, who had been the most kindly disposed towards Smith, was revealing, especially in view of Curran's turncoat tactics.

A motion to non concur with the findings of the trial committee then carried and Smith was absolved. Curran next introduced a set of charges against Carlucci and other John Does. A trial committee was elected and the meeting adjourned.

There were many conflicting opinions concerning the Smith affair. One fact was, however, unmistakable. The Communist Party figured prominently in the entire case. Meetings were held in Harlem where the Negroes were agitated by Party speakers defending Smith. CP literature was distributed on the waterfronts some of which deliberately raised racial issues in a fashion designed to provoke ill feelings between white and colored union members. Curran played his usual, lying, double dealing role in carrying out the Party plans as the record shows. Many Negroes threatened to secede from the union if Smith was not exonerated. The ports took up the "line." Almost before the New York membership learned of the charges, meetings in the ports were debating the various aspects of the case. Identical resolutions, defending Smith and denouncing anyone expressing opposite views, flooded the union halls.

(See picture of propaganda on next page).

Letters written officially to the Coast soliciting information concerning Smith's vessel resulted in the following replies:

Z. R. Brown, Secretary District Council No. 2—ship fair in San Francisco. V. J. Malone, Sec'y, MFO&W—ship scabbed. H. Lundeberg, Sec'y, SUP—ship scabbed. H. Jensen, SUP—on picket boat, 34 strike, ship scabbed. A. Watson, Sec'y strike comm—ship scabbed. '34 strike, MFO&W. W. Caves, ch'mn SUP '34 strike—ship clear. H. Bridges—no direct ans. inference ship clear. J. W. Engstrom, MFOP—no direct ans. inference ship clear. W. S. Lawrence, Sec'y Dist. Council No. 4—no direct ans. inference ship clear. J. O'Sullivan, MFO&W—ship scabbed. H. J. Vincent, Ag't. SUP—ship scabbed. Eugene Burke, MC&S—ship clear. Walter J. Stack, Seattle Branch Sec'y MWIU '34—ship clear. Letter to Alex Skurvin from Roy B. Hudson, former National Sec'y. MWIU (introduced as evidence by Smith)—Smith clear.

Constitutional requirements specified each qualifying candidate must show three full years sea service in discharge form before his name was placed on the ballot. Smith stated on his application he had served on the Horace Luckenbach from 1930 to March 1934. *He omitted to state that he had remained aboard after that date.*

The Balloting Committee, when marking down his clearance in accordance

WE ACCUSE

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION

BROTHERS:

A serious situation has developed in the N.M.U., which threatens to defeat all the gains that have been made during the past two years.

The shipowners, through their stooges and their efforts to smash the N.M.U., have started a campaign of disruption and disharmony between the Negro and white seamen. They want to disrupt that unity of the Negro and white seamen which built the powerful National Maritime Union. And won for the first time decent wages and conditions aboard ship!

Seamen know that it was the unity of Negro and white marine workers that made the '36-'37 strike as effective as it was. No one at that time dared to speak against this unity!

Now, at this time of widespread unemployment, when a seaman wonders when in the hell he'll ship out and everyone watches closely who gets each job, the shipowners try to use this opportunity to turn our attention away from the main problems: Unity, Agreements, Rotary shipping, etc.

By appealing to the prejudices of some of the white seamen against the Negroes, the shipowners hope to inflame these prejudices into hatred and thereby split the union's ranks.

The shipowners and their stooges are at this time centering their main attack upon Ferdinand Smith, outstanding Negro leader of the N.M.U. Smith was elected Vice President of the N.M.U., because of the leadership he contributed to the struggles of the seamen on the picket lines during the Spring Strike and Strike of '36 and '37.

He also has been cleared by all bonafide organizations of the West Coast for the 1934 Strike.

Smith's record as a union man stands out as a Beacon-light to all seamen, Negro and white! And it is precisely because of the role he played in uniting the seamen and building the National Maritime Union that phony charges have been placed against him. The objective being: not only to rob the union of a capable leader but to create disunity and discredit Smith in the eyes of the seamen, hoping that this will start a stampede of the Negroes and other militants out of the N.M.U.

Definite indications show what the shipowners expect to happen if they are able to go through with this frame-up of Smith. They have brought "Emperor" David E. Grange, back from retirement where the seamen drove him, hoping that he can wean the Negro and white seamen away from the ranks of the N.M.U., and into the A.F. of L., and sell them down the river as he has done for the past twenty years.

All the seamen must become alarmed at this direct attack to smash the National Maritime Union. All seamen, Negro and white, let the shipowners and the enemies of the N.M.U. hear your protest against this vicious frame-up of Ferdinand Smith!

United, the Negro and white seamen on the picket lines built the powerful National Maritime Union. Only this same unity can save the N.M.U.

STAND TOGETHER AND FIGHT AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION!

PUT FERDINAND SMITH BACK AS A LEADER OF NEGRO AND WHITE SEAMEN, AND AS A LEADER OF THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION! THIS WILL DEFEAT THE SHIPOWNERS AND DRIVE THEIR STOOGES TO COVER!

703-~~1234~~

Issued by - Seamen's Branch of the Communist Party of New York

CP activity within NMU

with the adopted motion previously mentioned as seconded by Smith, stated that he was sailing on East Coast vessels during the 1934 strike. The fact that Smith and the Balloting Committee were all comrades may not have influenced the report—then again in view of the Party's obvious interest in the matter—it may have???

One thing is certain!

Smith had betrayed the trust imposed upon him by the colored seamen immediately following his election to leadership. Smith knew when he flooded the NMU with colored Party members, packing phoney books, that he was visiting grave injustices on the bona-fide colored seamen. Though he helped the Party to achieve its purpose, which was control through packed meetings, he did not aid the bona-fide colored seamen towards achieving economic security, which is what they elected him for. Smith is guilty of grossly betraying the bona-fide colored seamen in the interests of the Communist Party.

XVIII "PROSECUTOR" OR PERSECUTOR?

THE spy scare must be intensified; when the membership had been sufficiently aroused and propagandized they would finish the job. Curran, in the role of "Prosecutor," conducted the trial of Carlucci in the center of the union hall. He charged him with being a labor spy and disrupter.

Comrades H. B. Warner, A Garabedian and Smith Hopkins, acting on the trial committee, returned a majority report of guilty recommending Carlucci's expulsion from the union. F. G. Renaud, the other trial committee member, submitted a minority report with exceptions. This case was highly propagandized by Curran and the comrades who later used it as a springboard for further charges against others, whom Curran at the time was pleased to call John Does. However, like the Innes case, the record again revealed "prosecutor" Curran dealing from the "bottom of the deck."

The Communist Party brought Carlucci into the NMU. He was transferred into the waterfront section of the Communist Party from the Young Communist League By M. Hedley Stone (Murray Stein) and Al Lannon (Vetere) on January 3, 1937. He had been a YCL'er since 1932. This fact probably accounted for "the extraordinary understanding of trade union organizational activities" which the Pilot stated he displayed. He attended several classes at the CP Workers Schools.

Prior to the Fall-Winter strike, Carlucci was given an MFOW pledge card by Comrade Jack (Lambert) Flaherty, then engine delegate, and Jack Lawrenson. Carlucci paid \$5.00 to Lawrenson, which was turned over to delegate Robert Reilly. This sum was later returned to Carlucci. Lannon arranged for Carlucci to get his seamen's papers following which he hoped to place him on a Black Diamond ship to act as a Party courier.

During the strike Carlucci carried special credentials and drove a "staff" car. He participated in the "March on Washington," where his car was wrecked. The union paid him \$125 for the loss of his car. After the strike Carlucci made one trip on the SS American Importer. He made another trip on the SS Manhattan and on

his return entered the Marine Hospital on May 17, 1937, where he remained until June 18, 1937.

Al Lannon then assigned him to various jobs, such as distributing CP literature, covering meetings and giving out the Daily Worker on the waterfront. Lannon put Carlucci to work in Brooklyn handing out the "Shapeup" and leaflets. He worked with Comrade Tony Fraumeni, a union joint delegate. Lannon also placed Carlucci on the CIO Organizing Committee's payroll, working out of No. 10 Bridge Street. He split his pay with one Patsy Pellino. Pellino, a former functionary for

January 17, 1938

Wena Davis D.O.

C.P. of New Jersey

Dear Comrade,

This is to introduce Comrade Ray Carlucci who for various reasons has decided to reside in New Jersey.

This comrade has been working on the C.I.O. Maritime Committee and is very capable as an organizer.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to refer him to any possible place where he may be able to get employment.

Comradly



Al Lannon 703-~~1260~~

Lannon letter to CP district organizer in New Jersey endorsing Carlucci

WE ACCUSE

115

CIO MARITIME COMMITTEE

10 BRIDGE STREET
New York City

•
Bowling Green 9-3667

Chairman
JOHN BROPHY, Director, CIO
Secretary
MERVYN BATHORNE, President
American Radio Telegraphists Ass'n

LONGSHORE AND HARBOR DIVISION
Telephone: Bowling Green 9-6367

HARRY BRIDGES, President
Pacific Coast District, I.L.A.
JOSEPH CURRAN, District Director
National Maritime Union
CAPTAIN E. T. MINCHIN,
Masters, Mates and Pilots, New York
V. J. MALONE, Pacific Coast Marine Firemen,
 Oilers, Watchtenders and Wipers Ass'n
JOHN GREEN, President, Industrial Union
of Marine and Shipbuilders


January 12, 1938

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Raymond Carlucci
was employed as organizer by the CIO in the maritime
field from Sept 15, 1937 to Dec 31, 1937. *

It gives me pleasure to state that he carried
out his work in a shrewd and capable manner. He has been an
efficient organizer, but owing to mass lay offs in industry
the CIO suspended financial aid to the maritime field.
We were forced to dispense with his services for that
reason.

Fraternally,


D J Gavin
General Organizer

709-~~1060~~

uopwa/cio
bs&au #16

 D. "Jimmy" Gavin, NMU official, "expresses pleasure" in recommending Carlucci
for employment

Book No. 13627

Certificate of Membership

Name of Member **ORAZIO CARLUCCI**

This Certificate, when signed by the officers is evidence of the fact of corresponding to the personal description appended hereto, is issued by the

National Maritime Union of America

Issued by
FINANCIAL DIVISION OF
NATIONAL MARITIME UNION OF AMERICA

Signature of Member *[Signature]*

Rating *Fireman*

Where Born *New Jersey* When Born *Jan 18 1895*

Color *White* Height *5-11* Weight *160*

Color of Hair *Black* Color of Eyes *Blue*

Where Joined *N.Y.C.* When Joined *4-14-37*

Address *[illegible]*

STRIKE PICKET CARD

SECRET STAFF CARD

SHIPPING CARD

TRAVELLERS CLUB CARD

JOINT MARITIME STRIKE COUNCIL

14528

703

Carlucci's Engine division book—picket cards—Travellers Club (CP) card—Party receipts signed by Ed Bruen (SS Panama)—and SPECIAL STAFF CREDENTIALS issued by Jack Lawrenson, Strike Secretary—Note: Most officials of the Strike did not warrant such SPECIAL credentials

the Communist Party in the United States Army at Panama, was given an engine division book in the NMU. Carlucci worked on this committee approximately four months. When this job was finished he hung around with Lannon, occasionally driving him out of town on business trips.

He was instructed by Tommy Ray, Blackie Myers and Al Lannon to hang around with the Mariners' Club members, *who did not know he was a Party member*. All of the information he could thus gather was to be used by the Party at a later date. He was paid \$15.00 per week for this work. Photostated credentials shown here illustrate the high regard of Party officials for him. However, Carlucci suddenly became dangerous to the Party and had to be gotten rid of. He had begun to work against the Party and on several occasions he exposed Party secrets to the membership.

At various times Carlucci had driven Curran, Ray, Roy Hudson, Ed Tabacman (Phillips), Ben Jones, Bjorne Halling, Harry Bridges, Mervyn Rathborne, Peter Cacchione and other small time Party "biggies" around to various meetings. He knew too much about their organizing methods—they had to get him. Carlucci sealed his fate by writing a letter to the Pilot in which he condemned Tommy Ray and the New York Maritime Council. When he read Party minutes into the record at an Engine Division meeting, the comrades were more determined than ever to rid themselves of this menace.

They worked out a plan of action centering around a set of charges against Carlucci and Curran was instructed to use this to take the heat off of Ferdinand Smith at the joint meeting, where the trial committee was to report on Smith. That meeting was well packed with comrades from all over New York and the record shows that Curran did his part of the job that night.

Following Carlucci's expulsion from the union the Party made preparations to get the others who opposed them. During the Carlucci trial, King was called in as a witness and the comrades later propagandized his words heavily. Because he knew that they were always packed, King rarely spoke much at meetings (as the comrades pointed out), but when he did, he always spoke straight from the shoulder. He also fought more than once to let the "other fellow" speak his piece without interference. Having fought for this right in the old ISU goon squad days when it wasn't safe always to speak one's mind, perhaps he valued this right more highly than Curran, Myers, etc. al., who jumped aboard the gravy train in the latter part of 1935. Recognizing what the Party and Curran were planning, King's first words were significant to certain people.

He said, "Before I answer any questions, I want you to know that I think this is a lot of —." When asked by Carlucci if King considered him a friend of his, King truthfully answered that it was hard for any man to know who his friends were in "this racket." The comrades played heavily on King's use of that word later but that happened to be exactly what he meant. The Stalinists had made a racket out of the NMU, exactly as they did wherever they "weaseled" in. The Party dug out the Loones story again and the whispering campaigns were renewed with increasing vigor. Their attack was well timed and the membership kept in a constant state of suspense.

XIX CURRAN RIGS A FRAME

INNES was the next to go, as has already been related. The comrades fairly glowed! A short time later Walter Carney was caught misappropriating funds through the sale of membership books, assessments and other means.

Just who was Walter Carney?

During the Fall strike he appeared as Curran's personal bodyguard and served as such throughout the strike. After its termination, Curran sent him aboard the Pennsylvania on a special mission. It would be his job to frame Simon Steglitz, who had been Treasurer for a short period during the Spring strike. Later Curran told him to get off that ship and he functioned as a delegate for the Deck Division.

During the election he received the highest number of votes for patrolman, and when Joe Kane, who had been elected Deck Secretary-Treasurer, was unable to function because of an accident, Carney was moved into that office by the Deck Division on a pro-tem basis. This action was concurred in by the Gulf District, following which at an Atlantic District Committee meeting, August 18, 1938, (Quote):

"(Myers)—I personally want Carney to sit in on the District Committee, but I want the membership protected. There is nothing to prevent this from coming to court later. But for the record we have faced this question. I move that Carney sit for my division. This discussion and the record in the minutes will cover us for any future challenge.

"Motion made by Myers—Seconded by McKenzie. Carried.

"(Carney)—So what is my status on the District Committee.

"(Phillips)—I think you are entitled to full voice and vote.

"(Carney)—If I am deprived of a vote, I think it should go to a court right away.

"(Myers)—He has a vote.

In this manner, Carney was seated on the District Committee and *not* appointed by King as the comrades liked to infer. Carney was discovered stealing. He denied he was guilty. Finally though, he, King and Curran went to Curran's apartment at the latter's invitation. He made a clean breast of his petty theiving.

Curran said, "In view of our former close personal friendship, Walter, although I can't help you, I promise I won't hurt you. You'll have to stand on your own feet however since you alone are responsible for your own trouble."

King proceeded to the Gulf on Union business after this and Curran immediately got busy carrying out the Party plan. First, in violation of his pledge to Carney, he excoriated Carney before the membership. "He had tried to be good to Carney but Carney had repaid good with evil, etc." To quote the words from several official NMU publications:

"Carney was on parole when these disclosures were made. Curran, who had been sort of surety for Carney's good behavior, called up the Parole authorities and said he wanted to be released from any guarantee from Carney. 'Oh, that's all right, Mr. Curran,' someone at the Parole Board replied, 'Carney is in the custody of Mr. Warfield of the United States Lines'."

The union was forced to retract this lie, when Warfield made an issue of it. Copy of the parole boards letter follows:

Seal of
State of
New York

[Copy]

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
Division of Parole
80 Center Street
New York City

Joseph N. Moore, M. D.
Chairman
Joseph J. Canavan
Frank I. Hascom
Frederick A. Moran
Executive Director

February 21, 1939

Mr. P. E. Warfield, Director,
United States Lines
Pier 60, North River
New York City

Re: Walter Carney, N-11182

My dear Mr. Warfield:

Your letter under date of February 20th addressed to the Commissioner, Division of Parole, has been referred to me for reply.

You refer to statements made by Mr. Joseph Curran, President of the National Maritime Union, in an article in the "PILOT," issue of February 17, 1939 that you had been the parole custodian for the past four months of parolee Walter Carney. Any such statement made by Mr. Curran is obviously untrue in view of the fact that by law the New York State Division of Parole *cannot* delegate any of its functions relating to the supervision of parolees to any individual not a member of the staff of the Division.

You also raised the question as to whether or not any member of the Division of Parole furnished Mr. Curran with information to the effect that you had been delegated Carney's parole custodian. *No such information was ever given to Mr. Curran* and no such statement could have been made because as pointed out above, *neither you nor any other private individual has been or could have been asked to assume any responsibility for the supervision of this Parolee.* [Emphasis Ours].

(sgd) DAVID DRESSLER
Chief Parole Officer

Carney, held in Tombs prison, amused himself by writing letters to people outside. Some of these letters revealed that perhaps the basis for Curran's zealous prosecution of him might be attributed in part, to very personal reasons, closely connected with their private affairs.

Curran next met Carney's wife at Standard's office and they arrived at an agreement. The stage was set for the next move. Mrs. Carney visited her husband often in the Tombs prison and "worked" on him. He was to sign certain tailor made statements substantiating the Loones' story. As Mrs. Carney told friends close to the waterfront, "as soon as they had accomplished their end of the frameup Carney would be released and they were going to move out of town, where Walter has a job waiting for him."

Shortly, Carney wrote a letter to Max Lustig, Standard's assistant, saying that he was willing to "confess all." He had been "double crossed" and his wife would "verify" the same, etc. Several letters, as fantastic in content as the notorious Moscow trials, were then written and signed by Carney. Unquestionably they were set down on paper and signed by him but there is more than a reasonable doubt

that he composed them. However, events have proven Carney to be a man who lied whenever it suited his convenience. Without a doubt, when he and his "verifying" wife eventually learn that they *were* duped by Curran and the Party, they might tell how much they were paid for their story.

At times Carney's story really was funny, especially when he told of an operator loaning Mariners' Club members a "bullet proof" Cadillac to drive around in. A check up of the Railway Audit Company mentioned shows that that company had gone out of existence officially in or about July 1938. According to the LaFollette records this agency had not been operating in New York for some time prior to this date. The comrades had found the right man at last. Carney *would* say anything and name anybody and they in turn could publish his statements, using them to their own advantage. If there should be any repercussions Carney, not they, would have to take *the consequences*.*

* Note as this volume was being compiled, several men were brought to trial in General Sessions court, Part Four, Judge Jacob Gould Schurman, Jr., charged with participating in the holdup of the union payroll March 17, 1939. The Pilot on January 26, 1940, carried the story in the best "Daily Worker" manner under the heading: "Carney on stand tells of holdup and sabotage plot."

It asserted these men were members of the "King-Carlucchi group" and according to the Pilot story, *with emphasis*, Carney admitted that he was a "rat and a squealer." The story was trickily written to create the impression among the membership of the NMU that Gallagher, Steglik and the others were all in on a plot to sabotage the Union and discredit Curran through robbing the payroll.

Carney tried hard to deliver the "goods" for the Party and Curran but he was obviously lying and defense witnesses subsequently proved that he lied. The jury, disgusted at the sight of an admitted liar, deliberately attempting to frame innocent men into prison for long terms, brought back a verdict which acquitted the defendants of the charge of robbing the union. The Pilot on Feb. 9, 1940, in reporting on the acquittal, wrote it up in a fashion designed to create the impression that the District Attorney's office had "*failed*" to convict the men.

This is the same Carney whose confessions, Curran used to manufacture charges against the Party's opposition within the union. On the basis of the Carney "confessions," several officials were removed from office, with Curran acting as the "prosecutor" against them. Though Curran had at one time in the record, condemned Carney as a thief and a liar whom nobody could believe, he reversed himself completely when it suited his purpose, and *professed* to believe Carney's "confessions" were the "gospel truth."

With the aid of the Party, he used these "confessions" to full advantage in order that the Party could gain complete control of all official positions in the union. Gallagher and Steglik had openly announced that they were Mariners and Gallagher had called Curran a liar on several occasions at union meetings therefore the party wanted their hides.

XX THE FINAL PURGE

THE Party was now ready for their final stroke. Curran came to a joint meeting on May 12, 1939, which was well packed with Communists. They were taking no chances. They had their "big guns." Harry Bridges, et al, on hand to help Curran at the "mike" if necessary. Curran then very dramatically stated that he was now going to name the rest of the "John Does" he had referred to on previous occasions. He read Carney's purported "confessions" and made formal charges against King, Phillips, Emerson, Hennessey, Keenan, Gallagher and Steglik. His air of grave importance and secrecy up to this point had been entirely unnecessary, since Lawrenson and other comrades had been running around all evening *gloating openly over what they knew beforehand was going to take place.*

If Curran and the Party had hoped that King and Phillips and Gallagher would be reduced to shaking, pleading wrecks when the *fictionized* denouncement came, they were doomed to disappointment. King and Phillips stood before the mike and stated to the booing, howling comrades that they were ready to face the charges in a constitutional manner. The picked dumping squads, being unable to sneak up on them from the rear, did not dump them that night as per schedule. They never do if they are required to face their intended victims. Later, they did succeed in dumping Phillips on West 23rd Street, but as soon as he was released from Saint Vincents Hospital, he showed his contempt for them by walking on the waterfront alone.

A trial committee of three from the Atlantic and three from the Gulf met to act on King's case first. The others were to follow. However, to date, most of the others have never been tried although they have been expelled in a manner strikingly reminiscent of the old ISU days.

King realized that he would inevitably be defeated by the well organized, well financed machine of the Party with its vast international ramifications. He decided not to waste time butting his head against a stone wall. He appeared before the trial committee and gave Comrade Smith a statement which incidentally the Pilot never published. He answered all the allegations made by Curran. He had been charged with:

1. Conspiring to swing the National Maritime Union into the AFL after a conference with Harry Lundeberg.
2. Conspiring with steamship owners to put out disruptive propaganda.
3. Accepting money from Standard Oil Company to sabotage the oil agreement.
4. Not carrying out decisions of the National Council.
5. Neglect of correspondence with the branches.
6. Failure to properly clarify the necessity for the dues increase thus causing its failure.
7. Sending of chosen men into important spots, such as Farrell to the West Coast and vouching for a man like Charles Jones in 'Pedro, who absconded with money, as did Farrell.

8. Appointments of Innes and Waity and supporting Mc Cuiston in his disruptive efforts here and in the Gulf.
9. Defense of Carlucci, even after Carlucci's exposure.
10. Passive agreement with the activities of the Mariners' Club.
11. Meeting with Harry Lundeberg in the Cornish Arms Hotel.
12. Conversations with Ivan Hunter of the ISU during elections.
13. General support of the disruptive activities of Carney, Hilse, Innes, Hennessey, Carlucci, Keenan, Kelly and others.
14. Trips to the Gulf and lack of reports of any description on his activities down there.

King's written answer follows:

*To the Members of the Trial Committee National Maritime Union of
America at Headquarters, 126 11th Avenue, New York City.
In the Case of Jerome King, on the third day of June, 1939.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

In reply to your communication listing charges brought against myself by Joseph Curran, I wish to state the following: With reference to:

CHARGE NUMBER ONE: "Conspiring to swing the NMU into the A F of L after a conference with Harry Lundeberg." Never at any time did I confer with Harry Lundeberg or conspire with him for the purpose of swinging the NMU into the AF of L as alleged by Joseph Curran, Octave Loones, and the Communist Party fraction and its stooges within the union. As a matter of fact, I informed Harry Lundeberg on one occasion, prior to his acceptance of the AF of L charter, that the CIO membership on the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, and the Great Lakes, were unfavorable to the AF of L and would regard his acceptance of an AF of L charter unfavorably. I believe Lundeberg will bear this out. I feel no great guilt over this. Since when has it been a crime for one union official to communicate or to speak to an official of another union? Lundeberg, at this time, was not AF of L.

CHARGE NUMBER TWO: "Conspiring with steamship owners to put out disruptive propaganda." Curran apparently bases this slanderous charge upon a statement, purportedly a "confession" by Walter Carney, wherein the said Walter Carney states that the "Rank and File Pilot" was planned at a meeting in a certain hotel at which I was present together with other union members and officials. Supposedly the shipowners had assigned their representatives to this meeting and they came loaded with bags of money overflowing with gold. This story would be really amusing if it were not for the fact that this vicious attempt at lying propaganda may well cost the membership of this union large sums of money in libel suit and damages, should the companies thus slandered undertake suits for the malicious assertions they may.

Incidentally, a poll of the ships along the coast in my opinion will reveal that crew members contributed substantially toward the formation and upkeep of that paper. Further, Curran pointed out in the joint membership meeting of Friday, April 15, 1938, that, "The Rank and File Pilot is not going to bust the NMU.

Some of the criticisms they offer are constructive and will do no harm to the NMU." Members who were present at that meeting will remember the statement.

CHARGE NUMBER THREE: Wherein Joe Curran alleges that I accepted money from the Standard Oil to "sabotage the oil agreement." That is a lie. In my opinion, if any sabotage existed, it was planned and executed by some of the chief negotiators of that agreement, a self-admitted Communist, Jack Lawrenson, and Hoyt Haddock—who was formerly head of the ARTA, and who was working for the Standard Oil Company at the time.

It seems more than peculiar, to say the least, that Haddock found it necessary to associate *with members of the union's negotiating committee so frequently at the union hall*. The fact that he found it necessary to frequent the company of Tommy Ray, Al Lannon, and other well-known members of the Communist Party together with some members of the negotiating committee so often during this period should be significant, to say the least, to even the most casual observer. Why Haddock should have found it necessary to go about circulating the "whisper" that I was a "super labor spy" as far back as that time—during these negotiations—also puzzles me very much, I must confess. Dozens of radio operators can verify that statement.

CHARGE NUMBER FOUR: "Not carrying out the decisions of the National Council." I deny this emphatically, since at no time have I ever disregarded instructions from the Council, nor what's more important, at no time have I disregarded the wishes of the membership. As a matter of candid fact, I have often been upbraided *by Curran because of my insistence that the constitution must be lived up to in detail at all times*. I consulted with the union's attorney on numerous occasions when some of the officials proposed actions in violation of the constitution and I was sustained. I was assured by him that I was correct in my position that "a constitution which had been mandated by the membership could not at any time be superceded by any official or officials." If that is what Curran means when he says that I refused to carry out the decisions of the National Council then I plead guilty to that charge to that extent.

CHARGE NUMBER FIVE: "Neglect of correspondence with the branches." To properly answer this, I must necessarily go into detail, as the facts concerning this go back to the early days of the union. As far back as the time when the Rank and File took over the ISU after the MFOW elections, during the Spring and Fall strikes and up to the present time, the Communist Party has through its members in the union used every means and tactic to have only Party members installed as officials and delegates in all ports. That they were partially successful is to some extent indicated by calling the roll of Party members in official positions in the ports P. B. Whalen, Baltimore; McGowan, Boston; Murray, Philadelphia; A. Duffy, Corpus Christi; K. K. Owen, Galveston; Merrill, San Francisco; Eugene Williams, Seattle; Ralph Rogers, on the Lakes; Alberts and now at long last Mills—formerly of Boston and auditing committee "fame"—in Norfolk. The foregoing is only a partial list and I say that at one time practically all of the agents in the ports were members of the Party.

I mention those names not for the purpose of "red-baiting," (so-called) but merely to illustrate my point. *All all times these agents in the ports communicated only with certain "favored" officials at headquarters regarding matters of any importance and occasionally they deigned to reply to communications from myself if they saw fit.*

I raised this question in the District Committee repeatedly and stated that my position was untenable. On these occasions Comrades Myers, Smith, F. Jones, J. Lawrenson, Moe Byne, Gethyn Lyons, and Curran always agreed with me for the record that this condition should not exist; however, it never did change to any great extent. If Curran found occasion to go out of town and none of the "annointed" officials were present at union headquarters when he or any of these similarly "annointed" agents called over the long-distance phone, the "assistant president," Dorothy Snyder always handled the communication with the result that F. C. Phillips, Geo. Hearn, or I often never learned of some *union details until the "annointed" saw fit.*

A stenographer was assigned to me whose chief duty apparently was to watch my mail in order that anything I might say might be used against me. She was always busy doing some work for everyone else but myself. And I learned later on that if I didn't watch her very closely I'd very often find myself writing letters that were different in some details from those I had dictated. Of course, to err is human, as one must recognize, but in spite of her human frailties I never wound up in the "middle."

There was a justifiable complaint raised by the membership about the large amount paid out in salaries to the office force, so it was agreed that some of the office workers be dismissed. I dismissed my stenographer and it was understood that the other officials would do likewise in some cases and that a central office would be set up and private secretaries would be dispensed with, excepting in the case of Curran. I then did the same as the others and whenever letters were directed to me from the ports, I obtained a stenographer from this office and sent out appropriate replies. However in view of my well known regard for the Party and its members, it doesn't require too vivid an imagination to guess that the agents didn't extend themselves too greatly in communicating with me *excepting when it was unavoidable. I say the blame for this condition rests with those officials in New York and the agents forming this "Party clique" where it properly belongs.*

CHARGE NUMBER SIX: "Failure to properly clarify the necessity for the dues increase thus causing its failure." This is a flimsy charge at best and I say, "If I sabotaged this issue in the manner charged by Curran, he is equally guilty for not exposing my 'sabotage' to the membership in time to prevent it. He had ample opportunity to do this and apparently he knew the importance of this issue or so he alleges in his 'charges.' In my opinion the real sabotage was deliberately done by the disruptive report submitted by the auditing committee composed of Robert Mills, Moe Byne, M. Naphthali, and H. Deihl which was first printed in the Pilot of January 27 and reprinted on February 24 with a statement from those members of the auditing committee containing additional final reports. *The mis-*

statement concerning the debts owed by the union with the deliberately misleading trend of their report was responsible, in my opinion for the failure of the membership to ratify the proposed dues increase.

My report presented to the membership and printed in the March 10 issue of the Pilot subsequently proved from the records that this auditing committee's reports were grossly inaccurate and calculated to misinform the membership. Smith and Curran subsequently admitted that their action was a mistake. It is significant that Byne who was a member of this auditing committee was also the member who made the motion that Curran's report concerning myself be published in four or more issues of the Pilot when it was presented to the meeting. This can do nothing more than prove my assertion that the present form of slanderous accusations made by Joseph Curran against myself are in line with the well organized attack against me.

I wish also to point out that the data on the dues raise proposal was published in the Pilot repeatedly in the form of graphs showing the approximate expenditures and pointing out that the union was going further into the hole under the present dues rate of \$1.00 per month. Statements, editorials, etc., pointed out the necessity for the proposal. The ballots were distributed and the membership urged to vote upon the issue, but the membership voted it down, as was recently reported to the membership and published in the Pilot. I certainly cannot be blamed for the action taken by a majority of members in a membership poll on any question.

CHARGE NUMBER SEVEN: "Sending of chosen men into important posts, such as Farrell to the West Coast, and vouching for a man like Charles Jones in Pedro who absconded with money as did Farrell." On the case of Farrell, I wish to state that the Atlantic District Committee handled that appointment as the record will show. It had been agreed that the San Francisco branch was to operate under the jurisdiction of the Atlantic District until such time as a district on the Pacific was arranged for.

The National Council had instructed the Atlantic District Committee to designate a representative to go to the Pacific Coast to relieve Ralph Rogers—who had requested to be relieved. After unsuccessful attempts to decide the appointee, the minutes of District Committee show that an appeal was placed on the notice board at headquarters asking that one of the elected patrolmen from New York be willing to undertake the task and proceed to the Coast and take over the post occupied by Rogers.

The minutes of the Atlantic District Committee later point out that Jack Farrell, *an elected New York patrolman*, was the only man who *volunteered* to undertake those duties. Therefore, he was furnished with credentials signed by Chairman F. N. Myers and Secretary F. C. Phillips of the Atlantic District Committee. The appointment of Farrell was recommended and approved by an engine division meeting at headquarters prior to the action of the District Committee. It is my belief that that appointment was acted upon by other membership meetings up and down the Coast. Therefore, I can only assume that this flimsy charge was deliberately placed against me among the others for the purpose of falsifying and beclouding the real issues at stake behind this organized attack.

On the other hand, I'll take the appointment of Jones to the post in San

Pedro, Calif., when the branch was opened there. As the Atlantic District had undertaken the jurisdiction over San Francisco, under instructions from the National Council, so had the Gulf District, under similar instructions, been given the jurisdiction over the port of San Pedro. The Gulf District at that time stated their inability to send a man out there. Jones was in San Francisco and it is my belief that a membership meeting there recommended that he be sent to San Pedro since the necessity for a representative there was becoming apparent. If Jones was ever issued credentials, they would have been issued by the Gulf District Committee and the appointment would have been acted upon in that district by the membership.

I defy Joseph Curran to show any record of my alleged endorsement of the said Jones or Farrell to those ports. Further, Curran knows and knew at the time he placed those items in the present charges that the jurisdiction over those appointees belonged to the two districts respectively. I will prove that, and prove it with Curran's own words. When speaking of the transfer of Merrill from San Pedro to San Francisco for the purpose of relieving Farrell, Curran said, according to page 5, minutes of the District Committee meeting, 1/9/39, (Paragraph 16):

"Curran: I recommend that you contact the Gulf, and ask if they will allow Merrell to go to 'Frisco, because that is the most important port, and he is the best man. I recommend that you do this and that Farrell be immediately recalled."

"Myers: Do we have to contact the Gulf?"

"Curran: Yes—he falls under the jurisdiction of the Gulf." (sic)

Later, when Phillips asserted that those ports should be the responsibility of the National Office, Curran said: Page 6 of the same minutes, beginning paragraph 7: "

"The National Office became very democratic and allowed the two Districts to assign somebody to each of the Pacific Coast ports. The Atlantic District was to take the San Francisco branch and the Gulf,—San Pedro." (sic)

It is interesting to note, in the light of these purported charges that while I had nothing to do with such appointments, and Curran knew that according to his own statements from the minutes and knew that the appointments were under the jurisdiction of the districts, Curran has deliberately included them in the slanderous whole in attempts to smoke-screen the weakness of the entire number of assertions.

Strange as it may seem, to interject a small fact here, R. O. Dugent, a member of the Communist clique, the most recent choice of the San Pedro representative's post, was designated by the request of Merrill of San Francisco, another member of the Communist Party. Unfortunate as it is that some men, while representatives of the union, will vanish with union funds, as in the case of Farrell and Jones and several others, it seems that the Communist clique's members can do no better: Like Richard Graham, J. Mc Arthur and others. Dugent has recently vanished with some approximate four hundred dollars of the membership's money as reported in the last issue of the Pilot.

CHARGE NUMBER EIGHT: "Appointment of Innes and Waity and supporting McCuistion in his disruptive effort in the Gulf." Taking Innes first, I want to say that much has been said and done about Innes for quite a long time. For some reason or other it is more than apparent that Curran and the Party have tried at great length for quite some time to hang Innes by the heels. In all his tirades against Innes, Curran has carefully couched his language to make it appear that he had only a casual acquaintance with Innes. However, the fact of the matter really is that for quite some time Curran and Innes were bosom pals. *Innes in fact did confidential work for our President.* Certainly if Innes is as phoney as he is charged with being, Curran should be the best judge of that *since he was very close to him for a long time.*

Innes was appointed by the District Committee of the Atlantic, and his appointment was put before the membership meetings. The record and the minutes of the various meetings will bear this out. He never did any stenographic work for me as stated by Curran in his report. Secondly, I am charged with the heinous offense of having caused the employment of Waity. In speaking of Waity, Curran, in his report, makes a very grave insinuation, however, such is in keeping with Curran's character. He says, speaking of myself: "He seems to run to male secretaries, for some reason." Curran's cowardly crack about Waity reminds me of a similar case. During the Spring strike, Patrick Codyre was assigned by the Party to act as Curran's guide and mentor. Codyre tired eventually of being the Party watch-dog over Curran and began to get ideas of his own. For displaying such unprecedented initiative, Codyre was run off the Strike Committee and the Party rewarded his sterling efforts in the usual fashion.

In the Daily worker, Tuesday, June 9, 1936, on page 2, they said as follows about Codyre: "Codyre's bureaucratic actions as a member of the Seamen's Strike Committee, his persistent attempts to raise the "red scare," *and the failure to deny persistent rumors that he engages in acts of degeneracy,* have discredited him in the eyes of the ISU members who did not re-elect him to their leading committee at the conclusion of the strike. . . ." The above quotation was followed by the story that Codyre had been expelled from the Communist Party. I recall well the vicious whispering campaign against Codyre that preceded and followed this story as should many of the members who engaged in the Spring strike. However, in this case, Curran has over-stepped all bounds of decency and this is one crack he will answer for. This is typical of the yellow rat whose record shows only betrayals of those who fought hardest for him and the union. Waity has certainly done his share for the union, even though he neglected to join the Communist Party.

Waity was on the California with Curran and came off in March, 1936 when Curran and the rest did. He was just an ordinary picket until Bob Meers asked that he be attached to the speakers' bureau. Being a typist, he was utilized in the office in between. Meers then put him in charge of the cash drawer at night. When Red Murray, representative of the Stewards' Department of the California to the Strike Committee failed to function, it was Curran who recommended that Waity be appointed to function on the cash desk in Murray's place. This was approved by the Strike Committee about two weeks later. When Bob Meers attended the Communist Party's Labor Schol (incidentally, he was supposed to be sick), it

was Curran who appointed Waity Chairman of Finance in Meers' place, in which capacity he served for duration of the strike.

When the Spring strike was over, it was again Curran who recommended that Waity stay ashore with the Seamen's Defense Committee to handle the financial records. He was given a voice but no vote and was made the tenth member of the Defense Committee upon which he served until the Fall strike. Curran then instructed Waity to assist Frank Jones who was elected treasurer at the meeting held at Webster Hall in the outset of the strike. Jones and Waity did not seem to be able to click, so Waity kept the record of the Brooklyn branch for Charles Saunders and worked with the investigating committee at headquarters. After the strike was over, he worked with Jesse Noihakau for about three weeks straightening out the files of the investigating committee. Waity was the only person that after the Spring strike gave a complete balance sheet showing where and how the money was spent for the strike. This was published in the Pilot during the Summer of 1936.

In view of the fact that I had gone through both strikes with Waity, and since I know him to be a capable bookkeeper, and further, since I knew I could trust him where I could not do so in the case of the Communist Party office workers, I did employ him. I was mandated by the constitution to deliver a complete financial report to the coming convention, and it was necessary that I have help in order to do this along with my regular work. *The records of the union were in a terrible shape due to the inefficiency of the Communist Party office workers.* (So much so that even an outside auditor made comment upon this after examination of the books—see M. Kolker, Auditor's Report in the Pilot, issue of March 24, 1939.) And I needed someone who was thoroughly familiar with the union set-up to help me with this work. Therefore, it was only natural that I should select a man like Waity. It certainly seems odd that this man who served so efficiently, faithfully, and satisfactorily during the days when the union really needed help *should be attacked as useless after the struggle to build the union had abated somewhat.*

Thirdly, the question of McCuiston. I am charged with helping him to disrupt. *This is ridiculous, as anyone who knows McCuiston can certify. He needs no help from anybody when and if he feels an inclination to disrupt.*

CHARGE NUMBER NINE: "Defense of Carlucci even after Carlucci's exposure." Curran, liar that he is, lies through his teeth when he says this, and he cannot establish this in any record unless he conveniently manufactures one.

CHARGE NUMBER TEN: "Passive agreement with the activities of the Mariners' Club." I can only say in answer to this that had Curran and his Comrades, Myers, Byne, et al, displayed as much concern and activity against the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party with headquarters a little better than four blocks away from the union hall at 230 Seventh Avenue as they did against the Mariners' Club, I, perhaps, might not have maintained "a passive attitude," as Curran terms it, towards the Mariners' Club. It does seem strange that Curran never displayed any great concern over the fact that many of the union's members

attended meetings on union affairs outside their own union hall at 230 Seventh Avenue regularly, nor did he object to these members issuing Communist Party literature aboard ships and along the waterfront.

The fact that the Young Communist League under the name of the Focslé Forum Club existed in close proximity to the union hall also failed to disturb Curran and his comrades. And apparently is quite kosher for them to issue a paper to the seamen which they called the Beacon. These facts evidently did not and do not count, for Curran and the rest of his ilk chose completely to ignore them. The Mariners' Club, however, seem to have gotten in their hair.

CHARGE NUMBER ELEVEN: "Meetings with Lundeberg in the Cornish Arms Hotel." On one occasion while Ralph Emerson was staying at that Hotel Lundeberg stopped off in New York on his way to Washington and checked in there as it was close to the West Coast hall which was on the Eighth Avenue block on 23rd Street at that time. We were all drinking at the time and Lundeberg joined us. There were several NMU members in good standing present and it can easily be established that the ensuing conversation was of a general nature. Lundeberg had not been exalted to the position of Maritime "Bogey man" Number One by Curran and his comrades and I didn't realize that I would lose caste by talking to him. *As a mater of fact a short while before this, Curran had attempted to obtain a book from Lundeberg and become a member of the SUP.*

CHARGE NUMBER TWELVE: "Conversations with Ivan Hunter during the elections." On one occasion only I spoke to Hunter when he called me up and wanted to know if it was true that I was going to support Lundeberg after he gets his AF of L charter. I told him that this was not true. Then, having nothing to hide, I immediately told Curran of the incident with the result that *he now maliciously attempts to distort the truth.*

CHARGE NUMBER THIRTEEN: "General support for the disruptive activities of Carney, Hilse, Innes, Hennessey, Carlucci, Keenan, Kelly, and others." I am not my brothers' keeper, and it would be obvious to any fair-minded person that the only reason why Curran attempts to blame me for the activities of those men who opposed him in the past is that he is overlooking no chance to discredit me. If one were to accept his implied theory, then I could be blamed for the action of any member who happened to displease him. I say he has learned his tactics well from his comrades, *but they are so old they are overly ripe and smell as such.*

CHARGE NUMBER FOURTEEN: "Trips to the Gulf and lack of reports of any description on his activities down there." I made three trips to the Gulf. The first two were in connection with the Watertender question on the Lykes Brothers' ships. I was instructed by the other National Council members, Curran and Smith, to go down there and advise them that they were to arbitrate this question. I carried out my instructions as the members of the Gulf District Committee will verify. The Gulf, however, refused to arbitrate this question and we met with the company several days in negotiations. During this time, I phoned Curran in-

forming him and headquarters what was taking place. The phone company records for that period will bear this out.

I attended a meeting of the Gulf Agents and reported to them, and this question was discussed at the conference, as the record will show. I made no written report, other than letters to New York at the time, as there was no final report that could be made. When a final decision was reached in the Gulf, I returned to headquarters where I made verbal reports on the situation. On my last trip to the Gulf, on the Malay situation, I proceeded to Houston and immediately contacted the attorney, the port agent, and the Gulf District Chairman. I succeeded in doing the job I had been sent down to do, namely, releasing the vessel. I kept Curran informed by telephone of developments while he was in New York and Washington. Further, I sent a wire which was inserted into the record of the Bailey hearing and immediately upon settlement of the dispute, I mailed a detailed, written report for Curran's information to Washington, D. C., and copies of the same to headquarters, New York. This complete report was subsequently carried in the Pilot of April 7, 1939.

SUMMARY: In summation, this attempt is extremely brazen and shows strong evidence of the organized manner in which the Party has conducted its campaign against me. The entire content of the "charges" is vilely slanderous, and indicates plainly that the Party is prepared to go to any extreme in order to accomplish its ends. Although the evidence is completely superficial and flimsy, and would not stand up in any court of law, every attempt has been made to build it up and propagandize the membership with it. Loones, a former ISU delegate who was first used as a spring-board for these charges, is a self-admitted liar. He first sold out those whose confidence he enjoyed while working for the ISU, to the rank and file strikers during the Spring strike of 1936, hoping to get money and a job. While an NMU tanker delegate, he stole funds. Later, he was expelled from the NMU and at the meeting where he was expelled, he was flayed unmercifully as an unmitigated liar and double-crosser by the very people who now pretend to accept his lies to suit their own ends. His entire past history conclusively proves what he readily admits, that he will do or say anything, provided he gets paid off. Maybe Curran is prepared to tell how much Loones got on those occasions when they met in Standard's office at 291 Broadway while cooking up this present frame.

Carney, Curran's former bodyguard and very close associate, is another absolutely unprincipled liar and petty thief. While the Party and Curran have worked overtime to create the impression that I appointed Carney, the fact of the matter is, that Carney was elected as New York patrolman for the deck division. Joe Kane, the elected deck secretary-treasurer, was ill, and subsequently Carney, who won the highest number of election votes, was designated by the deck division to act as deck secretary-treasurer pro tem. He functioned in this capacity for some time until he began to steal petty sums and was finally caught. When he was caught, Curran, Carney and I went to Curran's apartment at 138 West 100th Street where Carney made a clean breast of matters. We both told him that there was no earthly excuse for any union officer stealing money and he would have to take the full conse-

quences for his acts. I left for the Gulf, and Curran immediately began to crucify Carney.

At this point, it may be well to reflect that while no one can condone stealing, it is odd that a terrific hue and cry was raised in the Carney case. This, in spite of the fact that on numerous occasions prior to this, delegates had made off with various sums of the union's money and very little was said on one occasion while Garnier was agent in Port Arthur, Texas, he was short some \$1,100.00. Roy B. Hudson, Smith Hopkins, at present on the Trial Committee, Homer Brooks and other Party functionaries patched that one up, but there are auditors' reports available that show anonymous deposits were made to cover up the financial irregularities that existed. Six hundred odd dollars were borrowed from Steve Harvey, the present statistician, to help make up the deficiencies. He had one hell of a time trying to get it back. Curran, strangely enough, did no crusading then.

However, to resume, Carney fitted in with the Party's plans, so Curran carried out his orders, and the Pilot began its campaign à la Daily Worker. Carney was arrested, and the drum-beating began. Curran stated in the Pilot that he had assumed custody over Carney who was a parolee, but that he had refused to be responsible for him any longer when he learned what a rogue he really was.

Curran said after he had renounced responsibility for Carney that Warfield, the personnel manager for the IMM Steamship Company, had taken over the custody of Carney. This was propagandized in a manner calculated to arouse suspicion among the membership that collusion existed between the operators and some union officials. Curran, however, was forced to admit that he lied about the whole thing when Parole Board officials exposed him as a liar and a retraction was carried two weeks later in the Pilot. The next move was to get real close to Carney in order to get him to make a "confession suitable for the Party's purposes." So Curran began meeting Carney's wife. The softening-up process began and soon she was given a list of questions which Carney *must answer* "and then they would help Carney to beat his rap." It was stipulated that "each question be answered in a statement written out in long hand." This was necessary in order to make some amazing revelations in the Pilot. The rest was simple. The rat was cornered and quite ready to jump at my throat, or any one else's for that matter, in an attempt to win freedom. So shortly, the purported confession was produced with bullet-proof Cadillac cars, and all the other desperate-Desmond trimmings, and the putsch was on. I charged Curran with having given those questions to Carney's wife at the last National Council meeting, not because I was concerned over them, as he believed, but in order to establish the record that *he* had given those "tailor-made" questions to Carney's wife. He has on past occasions alluded to this National Council meeting and the fact that I told him that I knew he had given her that list of made-to-order questions in a "cunning" fashion. His constant reference to this past National Council meeting, aside from its propaganda value, leads me to think that some happenings therein are perturbing to him.

Perhaps the fact that he admitted in the record, that Myers and A. Dufly were Communists may bother him slightly. At any rate, we have a list of "charges" based on the purported confessions of two notorious and self-confessed liars with which the Communist Party through Curran seeks to frame me. I reiterate that

none of these statements are going to stand up in court and it will be interesting to watch the antics of Curran et al when they are called in and forced to admit that they knowingly and deliberately blackened certain persons' characters in order to strike at me. It will be equally interesting to watch Carney and the rest of Curran's dupes when they realize how they have been tossed around and two-timed by the Party through Curran.

In conclusion, as I stated at the joint meeting where Curran first sprang this purge to end purges, I have no intention of honoring these slanderous lies, by even alluding to them as charges. The trial, as every union member with any sense knows, is a farce. The Trial Committee—at least the Atlantic members—is still a bigger joke, with Comrades Ferdinand Smith, Smith Hopkins, and H. Deihl, and others, appointed by the waterfront section of the Communist Party to carry out the instructions of the top fraction.

I say to the so-called Trial Committee I have no intention of wasting my time by lending my presence to such a stupid conspiracy, and I suggest that you birds of a feather enjoy yourselves while you may.

To those very few members of the Trial Committee who are not Party members, I offer my apologies for having made it necessary for you to remain confined in the same room for even a few minutes with such a vile-smelling group of pseudo-revolutionaries and apologies for democratic trade unionists.

JERRY KING, Eng. No. 103.

Note: The assertion made by Curran on the Carney parole will be found on page 3, Pilot issue of February 17. The retraction will be found on page 8 Pilot issue of March 10. [1939].

The trial committee, with Curran acting as the "medicine man," found King guilty and he was expelled for 99 years at a subsequent joint meeting. The Gulf members of the trial committee returned to the Gulf, where at a headquarters meeting they shed some unexpected light on what transpired.

New Orleans, La.,
Monday, June 12, 1939

Affidavit and report of the Gulf District members of the Trial Committee in the case of Jerome King, National Secretary Treasurer, NMU of A.

We, the undersigned herewith freely dispose and say in this form of affidavit:

That we, as members of the Trial Committee—elected and designated by the membership of the Gulf District of the National Maritime Union of America—to sit in judgement on the case of Jerome King, Nat'l. Sec.-Treasurer of the Union in New York, did proceed to that city as directed for the trial free of mind and unprejudiced although the accusations against King had been highly propagandized in the Union's official Pilot, contrary to all precedent and contrary to the Union's constitution, which provides that "charges shall be made in writing and shall be referred to a trial committee WITHOUT DISCUSSION!"

After the fiasco of an "open" trial during which Joseph Curran, president of the Union, attempted to emulate Thomas E. Dewey as a "prosecutor" and repeated his slanderous accusations against Jerome King on the fourteen counts as formerly charged we find the following:

That the trial itself was a huge joke, since the three Communists were elected by a Communist machine packed meeting to represent the Atlantic District, namely, Smith Hopkins, Herman Deehl and Nicholson, in New York and Ferdinand Smith, Vice-President of the

OUR UNION BACK ON THE TRAIL

Copyright, 1938, by the N. M. U. Rank and File Pilot

New York City, August 5th, 1938

COGES RIG "FRAME"

Top-Leaders of Waterfront Section Discuss Means of Framing Jerome King—Vicious Attempt Comes After King Has Thwarted the Politicians' Frantic Effort to Rule or Ruin Union—Communists Admit Their Failure as Labor Leaders Learning that a secret meeting was to be held to discuss a frame-up, with Jerome King,

Secretary of the District Committee, marked as the victim, the reporter for the Rank and File Pilot last Tuesday, Aug. 2, undertook an investigation. By shadowing a Party member to the appointed place the reporter gained full information on the dirty scheme. At grave personal danger and risk to life and limb from his precocious porch the Rank and File was enabled to record all details of the proposed frame-up and is the man directly responsible for the situation today.

The transcript of the meeting shows the filthy lengths that the Communists will go to for gaining their ends. The verbatim report is practically self-explanatory and is as follows:

Report of Secret Meeting held by top figures of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party, held Tuesday, Aug. 2nd, 1938, at 230 p. m. in a room in the Broadway Central Hotel, 673 Broadway, New York. (Note: The official name of the waterfront section has been dissolved for 6

months were: Roy Hudson, Isaac Amter, Rose Wortis, John Johnson, Thomas Ray, Joe Curran, Al Lannon, Jack Lawrenson, Ferdinand Smith, Sam Maddell, L. Chamberlain, Ray Torr and 40 Fathoms.

Roy Hudson assumed the chair.

Ray Torr: "In life with Lawrenson's suggestion I believe that I should issue a statement for the press from Curran announcing that King is in league with the A. F. of L., and that he's trying to lead the membership back into the A. F. of L."

"I haven't been able to get any releases into the press lately. The Rank and File, so-called, have been getting all the publicity. If we're going to get any, we'll have to make news."

"What about the affidavits and the other records the King and those rats have on me?"

Hudson: "You'll make the statement as we want it. If you don't we have some affidavits and statements that will be placed at the disposal of the party to use. The statement must go out in the correct manner to effectively blacken King and those with him in the eyes of all the seamen."

Curran: "You'll make the statement as we want it. If you don't we have some affidavits and statements that will be placed at the disposal of the party to use. The statement must go out in the correct manner to effectively blacken King and those with him in the eyes of all the seamen."

"My firm belief is that you have let your ego and thought of self-aggrandizement get the better of you, and this to the detriment of not only yourself but also of the program of the Communist Party."

Curran: "I will say no more until I get a

Plan Whispering Campaign Lawrenson wishes to make a suggestion and is granted the floor."

"The easiest way to knock King down," said Lawrenson, "is to link him up with Joe Ryan or Harry Lundberg. We can issue a statement to the press and start the ball rolling that way. We can then start a whispering campaign on the waterfront that King is employed by the Burns Detective Agency."

"This of course requires tact and must be well planned. There are over 2,000 men wearing buttons on the waterfront and every one of them is willing to fight at the mere mention of Communist."

Smith: "Incidentally, what are we going to do about those places that haven't elected Party Comrades for office?"

Curran: "We'll take orders."

Tom Ray: "Our Comrades the ships will take care of that when we send the word out. Those whom we instruct shall follow the line of action decided upon by the Party. We might have to call for a recount to get rid of some of the phobias. BUT THE MAIN THING IS TO GET RID OF KING. This is, in my opinion, something that is necessary. It must be done immediately, whether we like it or not."

"We must face facts: as it stands now he has the Union in his hands and he's the only official at the present time who can get any results from the ship-owners when it comes to cases involving the membership. If this continues we'll be out. The membership don't want us now."

Ray continued: "We must start a campaign to remove him and all those who support him. We'll charge them with spitting the Union, and we know that we can rally the membership behind us on that issue. We must begin immediately to carry the burden of the struggle to place the Union under control again. Our Party Comrades must function better in the future."

Curran: "I will say no more until I get a

we were supposed to keep me informed, and I did not know one iota of what was going on; that is, not one iota of the truth."

Lannon answered that the situation changed just one month ago.

"We thought that it was one of those things that could be checked," said Lannon. "The Rank and File Pilot did us a lot of harm. It has been over a month since that paper was printed, and we thought that King's forces were decaying. Lannon went away and the forces behind the Rank and File Pilot began shipping out."

"By Fair Means or Fool?"

"They caught us unawares with all our forces centered here in New York from all coasts, while their change of tactics found their forces aboard ship. And as a result their campaign started in the

(Continued on page 3)

ture the other two fronts left uncovered. There is only one solution in my estimation: King must go, by fair means or foul."

Isaac Amter said, "I have all the meetings, too."

"We need new faces in here. Many of the unknown and lesser-known Comrades are here from the other parts for the meeting to hear the report of Judge of Election."

Some of them will have to stay and carry on the fight here in New York. We'll all have to fight until we get a showdown, and the best way to get that is by moving to east King and his stooges."

Hudson: "You and all of us can go out of here with only one thought in mind, Comrades: Get King any way we have to. That is the only possible thing to do and we must do it correctly."

(Note: At this point the Rank and File member who was taking the transcript of the meeting retired from his viewpoint since the meeting was ready to break up. The meeting dissolved a few moments later.)

Clips dated August 5, 1938 show secret meeting planning to frame King and others—Clip on left dated June 23, 1939 shows Curran denying his presence at that meeting

Union, an admitted member of the Communist Party, who sat as presiding officer, *came into the trial with a pre-determined opinion and verdict.*

As a matter of fact, it was their prejudice that first made us suspect that the accusations made by Joseph Curran were baseless and that the whole affair was part of a well defined plan of disruption in a concerted effort to win control of the Union for the Communist clique, who evidence themselves as willing to oust all who oppose them *and who haven't the slightest conception of democracy.*

Curran actually produced no evidence, with the exception of the wild statement made by Carney in jail alleging various support of Curran's statements, to substantiate his accusations; but he did produce a number of Communist Party members—admitted—and Party sympathizers as witnesses to support his allegations. "This clearly revealed the whole frame-up as part of a well laid-out campaign."

When the trial committee went into secret session to discuss the case, the Communist Party members immediately made a motion that Jerome King be expelled for 99 years as "guilty" on all counts. Smith stated that "we must get this over right away and have it ready for the Friday night meeting." This was on Friday morning, when Brother E. Stone, Deck 5506—a member of this committee as attested by the signature beneath—asked for a transcript of the trial record so that we of the Gulf could see what had actually been said and weigh the value of it and render a verdict accordingly. We did get three pages of the record on the first and second charges but the record of the testimony on the twelve other charges remains to be seen.

OUR DEMANDS FOR THIS TRANSCRIPT MEANT NOTHING!

When we asked that time to weigh the evidence be granted we were first out-voted and then openly intimidated by Deihl who was apparently the "leader" of the gang. Deihl threatened us with a dumping "if we didn't go the way they did and vote the way they did and find King guilty."

When we asked for a recess on Friday afternoon the Communist members of the Trial Committee refused point blank and pointed out that "the door was locked, and there were twelve masters at arms, outside the door." "It would be bad for us if we tried to get out of the door," said the Communist members of the trial committee.

Their attitude was one of continual intimidation throughout the entire proceedings. If we—as members of the trial committee—so much as asked intelligent questions which disputed anything Curran had said we were instantly heckled by the Communist members of the trial committee and the few Communist members of the Union who sat in the Hall and attended the "open" trial, as "moral" support and booing material.

As a matter of fact when we came down on the pavement on the first day of the trial a few Communists and their sympathizers standing around the street howling at us, "he's guilty. Find him guilty!" One of these people was selling the Daily Worker on Eleventh Ave. outside the main door to the Union Hall.

King replied to the accusations and alleged charges with a twenty-one page typewritten statement which cited minutes of various meetings, District Committee meetings, and articles from the Pilot—as the case of Walter Carney's parole—WHICH INDISPUTABLY PROVED THAT CURRAN WAS LYING!

When we asked for a copy of the minutes of a National Council meeting which King referred to, such transcript minutes were refused us by Smith and the rest of the Communist clique. We have since seen a copy of this record and find the statements made by King when referring to this record were correct, as were the statements made by him quoting the various minutes and denying the accusations.

We freely state that the attitude of the Atlantic District members of the Trial Committee was one of antagonistic non-cooperation with their threatened dumpings. IN SHORT IT WAS, "DO AS WE SAY, OR ELSE. . . ." With that as their form of coercion the Atlantic District members directed a verdict of guilty and a 99 year suspension—WITH WHICH WE MUST STRONGLY AND EMPHATICALLY DISAGREE. In our opinion *"THE TRIAL WAS A FIASCO AND THE "RAILROAD" OF A WELL FRAMED*

FRAME-UP, THE ACCUSATIONS A PART OF A SCHEME TO WIN CONTROL OF THE UNION FOR THE COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP."

We were afraid for our lives to attend the joint meeting on Friday, June 9, and were informed that if we delivered the above as our report or anything contrary to the Communist clique, as were our intentions, **WE WOULD NEVER RETURN TO THE GULF ALIVE.** Consequently, just as soon as we could elude our trailers and the "goon" squad assigned to get us we got on a bus and left for New Orleans immediately, where we feel we can deliver an honest report of the trial to the membership.

We do freely and truthfully state that in the port of New York a reign of terror is being carried on by the Communist Party. There are about ten "masters at arms" on the fifth floor at headquarters, most of who have never been to sea in years. It is also very interesting to note that one member of the trial committee from the Atlantic District, namely, Smith Hopkins has not been to sea since 1936.

Our findings on the case of Jerome King follow:

The accusations in our opinion are unfounded and Jerome King is not guilty on the counts as accused and slandered by Joseph Curran.

Fraternally yours,

JAMES CLAYTON, 10239 E.

GEORGE LUCAS, 3230 E.

EDWARD STONE, 5506 D.

Duly elected members of the Trial Committee from the Gulf in the case of Jerome King. This report was accepted by a Gulf Headquarters meeting in New Orleans.

The Pilot of course ridiculed this affidavit in a statement which intimidated that the men from the Gulf were nothing but panhandling barflies whose word was worthless anyway.

The Party and Curran had now completed its task of getting rid of its Atlantic opposition. Shortly thereafter, they declared that an emergency existed. They borrowed a large sum of money from the strike fund on this pretext and Curran went to the Gulf, where he distributed this money in the "right places." Carloads of comrades went South from many of the Northern ports and as soon as Curran had sufficient recruits, he moved against the officials in the Gulf. The same process of elimination took place—shipowners' stooges were discovered under every chair.

Phoney stories and affidavits appeared.

Labor spies were to be found under almost every bed in the Gulf.

Step by step the process was duplicated. Meetings were held in Jerusalem Temple, packed by comrades, they climaxed it all with their final master piece, the notorious second convention of the NMU, which might have been more properly called the First National Convention of the Waterfront Sections of the Communist Party of the United States of Amercia.

An examination of the names listed on the important committees indicated how clearly the Party dominated that convention. They voted to oust their remaining opposition in the Gulf and replaced them with new officials who were CP members. The job was now complete with the exception of one or two small mopping-up jobs in some ports. The last vicious cycle of the swindle was completed. The Party had won and the membership had lost again!

XXI POLITICAL PIRATES

THE Party had long eyed the National Strike Fund covetously, but didn't know how to "break the ice." After continual casting about for a good enough "excuse" Curran came into a special meeting of the Atlantic District Committee at New York headquarters, July 14, 1938. (Quote):

"Curran: This is an emergency meeting in connection with the financial situation in the union and what we believe will give us a breathing spell for at least three to six months and we will discuss it and see what we can do. Lieberman, the office manager, and myself went to the bank this morning and went over this proposal. It is our opinion that we must have a breathing spell."

Curran and the others went on outlining their scheme in "weasel words"! They wanted to borrow \$10,000.00 from the Amalgamated Bank, giving collateral in the form of the amount deposited in that bank to the National Strike Fund. The bank would keep any part of the money it was proposed to borrow as security and collateral. According to Lieberman and Curran: "We could borrow this money at 2½ per cent instead of the usual 6 per cent since it is actually our own money that we are borrowing."

Curran and the comrades went on explaining the feasibility of their scheme and pictured the union's "terrible" state. Something must be done instantly! It devolved upon the District Committee to take "immediate, courageous" action if the union was to be saved from creditors, who by some quirk, peculiar to creditors, who according to the Party members, were suddenly transformed into a blood-thirsty group even now clustered outside the union's doors, like a bevy of screwy cannibals clamoring for someone's gore.

Quote from the District Committee minutes:

"(King)—How soon do you propose to take these steps?

"(Lieberman)—As soon as the Committee thinks it is necessary to take them. The papers are all here. [Note: Lieberman "efficiently" thought of everything].

"(Curran)—This can be consummated tomorrow, if the Committee agrees, as far as the papers are concerned. It is the change of one account to another in the same bank.

"(King)—In my opinion, this is a National fund, correct? It was set up originally in the Convention and concurred with on a coastwise basis, right? In my opinion, the correct steps to take here would be, first before consummating this, to present this to the membership with a clarification by the District Committee, pointing out the necessity and explaining what may happen, and if the membership becomes acquainted with the actual necessity for these steps, there is no question or doubt that they will concur with it and then it can be consummated.

"(Curran)—Then it must go to two meetings up and down the coast also to a referendum vote before any of the Strike Fund is touched. So it means that we forget it.

"(King)—The Constitution stipulates that you can't touch it.

"(Jones)—The resolution that was passed controls this; the constitution doesn't at all. I do not think we are actually faced with such an emergency that we have to have a referendum.

"(King)—I am not proposing a referendum, but an explanation to the membership.

"(Curran)—We are making minutes here: We are not trying to hide the transaction.

"(King)—I want to point this out, that before consummating this, we can go to the

membership as a committee and point out the absolute necessity for taking these steps and there is nothing wrong with that, that I can see.

"(Curran)—The only thing that is wrong is the question of time.

"(King)—I think the membership will concur with us that a referendum won't be necessary in view of the fact that if we are forced to take a referendum we would be defeating our own purpose.

"(Curran)—I agree that we should let the membership know; that is why we are holding a formal meeting. I disagree that any referendum vote can be held because the moment it is held, it becomes known that we are taking these steps and our credit will be jeopardized and the union as a whole."

Curran, above sensing that King was leading him towards dangerous ground, suddenly became "membership conscious" for the record.

"(King)—Do you think our financial condition is not known?

"(Curran)—I think it is known but so far it is not known that we intend to borrow money.

"(King)—Do you know that these minutes are in the hands of certain people immediately they are published. The minute those minutes come off the mimeograph machine they get them. They get them before we do.

"(Byne)—It is a question, as I said before, I think the District Committee must take the bull by the horns.

"(King)—We are establishing a dangerous precedent. It is a dangerous precedent. I do not think anyone of us here will deny it."

Here Curran, Byne and Jones gave up. King was deliberately fencing to get them to really lay their cards on the table and they knew he meant to fight if necessary to block any raid on the Strike Fund. However, the comrades are not exactly stupid. Jones had earlier paved the way for retreat if they found that they couldn't get around King, so Curran and Byne took the deck.

"(Curran)—I make a motion, on the basis of Jones giving us the assurance that he has, that we hold the matter in abeyance. Byne-Seconded.

"(King)—Any discussion on the motion.

"(Phillips)—I believe an amendment would be in order. That Lieberman make arrangements to get this thing done as soon as possible, so we can use it anytime we really need to.

"(Curran)—It can't be done. I made a motion that on the basis of the fact that Jones showed us that it is not necessary to make any loans and that there is no financial crisis as we believed to have existed, that we hold the thing in abeyance.

"(Jones)—I didn't say there was no financial crisis. I said that we have been paying bills off every week and if we can continue to do so without putting the National Strike Fund up as collateral, I do not think we should put it up.

"(King)—As a member of the Sub-Committee on Finances of this organization, what is your opinion?

"(Jones)—My opinion is that we do not at this time have to make a loan, putting up the Strike Fund as security or any part of it. Curran has given his opinion prior to this."

Thus Jones crawled out from under by straightening out his part of the record. Apparently his opinion varied from Byne's, who was likewise a member of the Sub-Committee on Finances. It will be noted, he wanted to lock horns with a bull.

"(King)—Question called on the motion to hold the matter in abeyance. If there are no objections, we will consider the motion carried. Motion carried."

After some further discussion the meeting was temporarily interrupted. The comrades grabbed O'Donahue, who, just up from Houston as a Gulf representative, did not know what it was all about. Their purpose, of course, being to put him in the "middle" for future reference. O'Donahue then naively asked:

"(O'Donahue)—I would like to know if it is possible to bring back the question of finances on the loan? I make a motion to reconsider the motion to hold in abeyance. Seconded—Phillips. Motion carried.

"(King)—Now we are back to the original motion to hold the matter of getting a loan on the Strike Fund in abeyance.

"(O'Donahue)—Motion that we get permission from the membership to set this machinery in order so as to be available when necessary."

The Strike Fund was considered by the membership as "The Fund" that *should never be touched under any circumstances*, except for strike purposes. Any one advocating touching it was treading on dangerous ground—which was as it should be. O'Donahue, who came from the militant port of Houston, was being "cutely" committed in the minutes by his comrade "friends." Then Curran seized the opportunity to straighten himself out in the record. (Quote):

"(Curran)—On the basis of the information that has been obtained here, we find that in the event a situation develops where immediate action is necessary we recommend that this question be brought to the membership so that they may have a clear view of the whole matter and possibly empower the District Committee, acting for the National Council, to be in a position to offset any situation arising in the future that may endanger or jeopardize the Union's Strike funds and the Union's status."

Curran reversed himself now and, of course, would not think of touching the Strike Fund without first consulting the membership. The high pressure talk shot off about unreasonable creditors demanding their money was so much hooley, since most of these firms *were controlled by comrades* who took orders.

King tried to warn O'Donahue but Curran and Jones effectively "soft soaped" him in the corner, and he continued (Quote):

"(O'Donahue)—Point of information from the District Committee. I feel they are better able to answer this than I. Would this have a bad effect—not to ask the membership—but would it have a bad effect to expose this to the membership—the fact that we may have to touch the Strike Fund?"

O'Donahue had reopened the question and enabled Curran to make his little speech of 'clarification' and he himself was now in a fair position to get slaughtered on his return to the Gulf, for having paved the way for the comrades to get at the Strike Fund.

Curran continued softsoaping.

"(Curran)—We put it in the light that at all times the Union can become a victim."

King then spoke for the record attempting to protect O'Donahue if the comrades tried to use this on him in later membership meetings. (Quote):

"(King)—For the record, it can be pointed out that this season has been the worst year

DE

WE ACCUSE

WILLIAM L STANDARD
COUNSELOR AT LAW
291 BROADWAY
NEW YORK
CORTLANDT 7-1358

July 21st,
1938

Mr. Jerome King,
Secretary, District Committee,
National Maritime Union,
126 Eleventh Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Jerry:

I examined the Minutes of the Convention in which were discussed the question of assessments and the question of the Strike Fund.

You will find that the Resolution on Article 17, Section 4, which provides for an assessment of \$5.00 to be collected immediately after the termination of this convention, was introduced at the Seventeenth Session, on Wednesday, July 28th, and in the Minutes is found, under Discussions of Article 19, Section 4. The Preamble of the Resolution which refers to the strikes in which the National Maritime Union (I.S.U. Rank and File) was engaged in 1936, and to the hardships suffered during that strike, ends with the following Resolve:-

RESOLVED: That an assessment of \$5 be collected immediately after the termination of this Convention to be deposited in "The Special Strike Fund" referred to in Article XXI, Section 7 "and to be used only to meet the obligations and expenses during a strike."

703-~~IPU~~

Under the discussion it would appear that the Resolution introduced for the imposition of an assessment of

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on the
least reasonable
consideration +
action on this
matter

WE ACCUSE
WILLIAM L. STANDARD
 COUNSELOR AT LAW
 291 BROADWAY
 NEW YORK
 CORTLANDT 7-1358

July 21st,
 19 38

703-~~IPEDU~~

Mr. Jerome Kin.,
 - 2 -

\$5.00, was contemplated for the collection of a Special Strike Fund to be used during a general strike. The discussion on this Resolution is not very ample, but bearing in mind the Preamble of the Resolution which refers to the General Strike of 1936, the conclusion must be drawn that the "Special Strike Fund", created by the \$5.00 assessment, was intended as a fund to be used during a General Strike.

In Article XIX of the Constitution entitled "General Strike" we find Section 7 provides that:-

"No less than ten percent of all monies collected by the District Committee shall be deposited every month in a special fund to be designated as "District Strike Fund," and to be withdrawn only in the event of a strike being called in the District, and affecting the entire District. This fund shall be subject to the withdrawal upon the signature of three District officers and shall be used only for such District strike purposes."

This Section providing for the establishment of a "District Strike Fund" by the segregation of 10% of "district" funds that are collected, further bears out the principle that the fund authorized by the Convention, was intended as a fund for general strike emergencies.

WE ACCUSE

141

WILLIAM L STANDARD
COUNSELOR AT LAW
281 BROADWAY
NEW YORK
CORTLANDT 7-1388

July 21st,
1938.

Mr. Jerome King,
- 3 -

It is my belief, therefore, that the Special Strike Fund can only be used to defray the expenses of a General Strike.

Very truly yours,

William L. Standard

WLS:CL

703-~~TEU~~

Standard, Union counsel, submits written opinion pursuant to request by King—He states SPECIFICALLY special Strike Fund to be used only for General Strike purposes—Subsequently CP packed second NMU convention diverted Strike Fund to other purposes

to my knowledge since 1924. There is no way of shipping here. There is more unemployment this year than any year preceeding and when these things are explained to the membership and verified—the ships are tied up—and this situation makes these steps necessary. And with a proper explanation from the Committee, that is all that is necessary.”

Curran, still softsoaping O'Donahue whom he secretly hated for having repeatedly defied him, continued:

“(Curran)—I think you should make this motion: That together with these minutes a report be gotten together to the membership on this situation and then it can be submitted to the membership together with recommendations as soon as possible.

“(O'Donahue)—I make that motion. Byne-Seconded. Carried.

“M.S.C.—To adjourn. Meeting adjourned at 6:45 PM.”

So the comrades accomplished their purpose at the meeting, using O'Donahue as an unsuspecting catpaw. After the meeting King revealed to O'Donahue how he had been used. Thereafter, Curran wasn't very successful in deceiving O'Donahue. King, in preparation for the Party's next move on the Strike Fund, wrote the union's counsel asking specific questions concerning the Strike Fund. He received the following letter: (See photostats of Standard's letter). The union's

XXII RED ANNAPOLIS

IN November, 1937, a star reporter for the Washington Post, Edward T. Folliard, described the Communists' Marine Training School as the "Red Annapolis."

He wrote in part:

"The Communist Party has established its own 'Annapolis' in this country, a Soviet academy for the training of sailors to spread the Red doctrine in the American Merchant Marine. It is located at Camp Nitgadaiget, 65 miles north of here, on the outskirts of Beacon, N. Y. On the opposite bank of the Hudson River is Newburgh, where General George Washington had his headquarters in 1782-83. Twenty miles to the south is West Point. Thus far 30 men have been graduated from the Communist Marine Training School, and a new class now is being formed. Most of the graduates have gone back to sea, well equipped to strive toward the Party goal—'A Communist unit on every American ship.'

"Those who have remained ashore have, in the eyes of the Communist Party chieftans, done even better. They have in most cases achieved important positions in the National Maritime Union, seagoing arm of John L. Lewis' CIO.

"Comrade Frederick (Blacky) Myers, a graduate of the Red Annapolis, is a member of the governing body of the National Maritime Union. So, too, is Comrade Ferdinand E. Smith, a colored Communist, from Harlem, and Comrade K. Owens who is in the engine division of the NMU.

"Camp Nitgadaiget, with its Red atmosphere, its Soviet symbols and its Moscow jargon, is to the American Communists what Camp Nordland near Andover, N. J., is to Bundsfuehrer Fritz Kuhn's goosestepping American Nazis.

"A huge reservation, the activities of which radiate from a four-story stucco hotel, the Communist camp is just off Route No. 1, the highway to Albany. The hotel is fringed by trees and is approached over a horseshoe shaped drive.

"Over the main entrance to the hotel is the familiar hammer and sickle. Inside, the visitor sees a painting of Lenin addressing the workers, and also pictures of such American Communists as Earl Browder and Israel Amter. The Red flag of Moscow is crossed with the Stars and Stripes.

"Theoretically, Camp Nitgadaiget is a miniature Soviet Union and every effort is made to model life here after that in Moscow, even to the extent of having the two sexes bathe in the nude. The Marine Training School is located in a large classroom in the basement of the hotel. There are no desks. Instead, the students sit at six long tables, facing a large blackboard. On the walls are banners with such slogans as these:

"'Communism is 20th Century Americanism.'

"'Workers of the World Unite.'

"'A Communist Unit on every ship.'"

The reporter then went on in his article further describing the school, naming some of the "professors and lecturers" who conducted the classes. He named: David Laurie, Tim Holmes, Comrade Mindell, Prof. Albert Moreau, Comrade Mary Dalton, Bill Lawrence and Paul Cline, alias Al Peretti, as the Director of the school.

When this article was made public, the Communists vehemently denounced it

in its entirety as "the wild pipedream" of the notorious "labor hating" capitalist press. The reporter was a perverted liar, nothing less! Loudest in these denials was Comrade Myers.

703-~~1250~~ , May, 13, 1939

Dear Bill:-

Received the shape-up money. O.K. thanks a lot - Enclosed are receipt & a couple other books which I hope you can get rid of.

That Unity idea of Alexander has fallen thru at present as there is not much to worry about. Soon there will be a pamphlet published by the U.M.W. which will give the real dope on Unity. Alexander was screwed up a bit but is O.K. now.

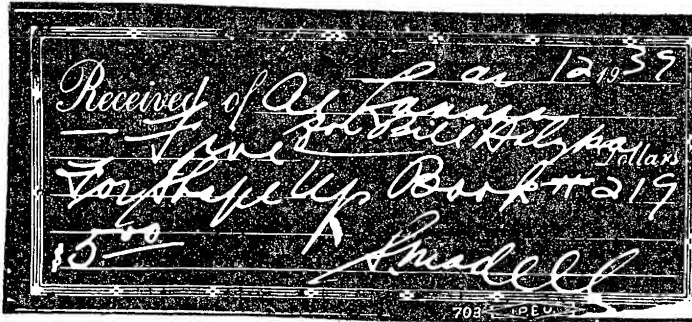
The action you took on this Unity question was O.K. If you write to me regularly I'll see that you get the dope from time to time.

By the way I'm enclosing some material about a school we are trying to organize for the next fall. Read the stuff and let me know what you think. De

not let any other people see this stuff.

Well 'heat of luck Bill & lets
hear from you again

Cornedly
Al Lannon
230 - 7th Ave
N.Y.C.



Correspondence between Al Lannon and an NMU member aboard ship reveals CP school in operation in 1939—See printed text of proposed secret curriculum for 1939 to NMU members—Note study of Communist Party of the Soviet Union

However, a letter written by Al Lannon, member of the NMU and official of the Communist Party, discloses that this reporter was not lying after all! This letter written to an NMU member aboard an NMU vessel deals with the establishment of a new class in the Communist Party's National Marine Training School, in October and December, 1939. See above letter.

WE ACCUSE

703-~~1000~~

M. J. Calhoun
 Hanco-Tucker Corp
 630 5th Ave. N.Y.C.
 June 5, 1939

Dear M.J.

Received your letter in N.Y.
 I think the idea of the school is swell.
 I think the way things have been running
 aboard this ship, I can really see the
 necessity for making more schooling.
 I think a special course on the negro
 question is absolutely necessary. Only
 when we are really trained in May
 1939 & the mission, are we prepared to
 lead the working class & think if it is
 possible to make this school a regular
 part of the "intergroup education" so that
 "Caucasians" don't qualify for this
 school and be able to go to another.

~~By the way, the mission is to~~
 conduct by the means of Barley
 shipped on here. Two other athletes
 were on when I shipped on ship
 with him went around whipping
 up racial hatred. Due to the needs
 of southern farmers in here they
 were able to add a meeting and
 dance. At the meeting the two groups

Letter to Lannon from CP member aboard ship

& myself arranged to stop these ~~men~~
 to ~~any~~ ~~one~~ from taking any action
 & the two were on quit & Bailey stayed
 due to the fact that the ~~meeting~~
 held at the last minute the ship
 was held up an hour & part the
 union in a bad light with the C.

What I want to know is this. Is
 the party going to try & force this color
 question? If ~~any~~ ~~one~~ I believe ~~any~~ ~~one~~ in
 making a mistake, because we will
 play right into the hands of the ~~foreigners~~

"The ~~hell~~ who are openly showing their
 hand today. If the party feels the time
 is ripe to force the issue my advice
 is for every member who can ship, get
 a ship running to ~~hell~~, especially the tankers.
 I know my request about soft ped-
 dling the color question might sound
 like I think this is a popularity con-
 test, but I say if we force the negroes on
 the ignorant workers without educating
 them first it will bring about a long
series strips on the union

Conrad by

P. S.

Bill Wadley

Please answer this letter immediately.

40 N. W. Norfolk, Va. so as to clear

in the color fight

Bill

702-~~CEED~~

Lannon outlines the "curriculum" of the Party's proposed new class in detail as observe the following exact copy. One of the principal points is a study of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, also the panhandling scheme to "get the dough."

Thus we see in a manner that the comrades cannot deny *that it is true that the Communist Party does and did maintain a school to train Communist Party members of the National Maritime Union for future work aboard American Merchant Marine Vessels!*

[Quote]:

1. The school will be held in pleasant, healthful surroundings in upstate New York beginning October 15th and ending December 15th, 1939.

2. The courses to be taught have not yet been worked out in detail, but they will include the following:

- (1) History of American Labor Movement.
- (2) Trade Union Strategy and Tactics.
- (3) AF of L Craft Unionism vs. CIO Industrial Unionism.
- (4) The need for political action.
- (5) United and Peoples Front * * * National and Social Security, * * * 18th Congress CPSU [Soviet Union].

Complete curriculum will be sent as soon as it is worked out. Comrades should feel free to send in any suggestions they may have as to courses, etc.

3. All text books and material used at the school will be furnished free of charge.

4. Competent instructors have already volunteered their services for the duration of the school.

5. The only expense involved is the actual cost of board and lodging, daily expense allowance for cigarettes, etc., fares to New York and back, etc., which will amount to the sum of \$125 per student.

6. Realizing how difficult it is for maritime workers to save such a large sum of money, we have made arrangements whereby they can forward partial payments from time to time which will be held in trust for them until they have the complete sum necessary.

7. Each candidate for the school will be expected to have the total sum of \$125 turned in not later than September 1st, 1939.

8. Special consideration will be given to those candidates who for good reasons are unable to turn in the entire amount.

9. During the month of August a commission will be set up in New York

to interview the candidates and select those comrades who will qualify to attend the school.

10. If any comrade is unable to attend for some reason or another, or if he does not qualify before the commission, the entire sum of money he has turned in shall be refunded to him if he so wishes.

11. If any comrade is unable to finish the course for any reason, he will have his money refunded to him, if he so wishes, minus the amount necessary to cover his expenses during the period he attends.

12. This opportunity is open to all maritime comrades, seamen, longshoremen, harbor workers, etc.

13. The sum of \$125 does not cover traveling expenses from other ports to New York, this will have to be arranged in the ports themselves.

14. Comrades wishing to attend this school should get an application card now from their unit or Section organizer or send to New York for them if unable to secure them in the port.

15. After filling application, it should be sent immediately to New York together with any money the candidate may wish to send in at the moment.

16. Candidates can send in money as often as they wish, and in any amounts possible.

17. All communications, applications, finances, etc., must be sent to:

Marine Training School.
c/o Al Lannon, 9th floor, 35 East 12th Street,
New York, N. Y. [Unquote].

It should be observed and remembered by all American seamen that the Communists were and are very thorough and consistent in their efforts towards *gaining control of the seamen*. They formulated certain plans and tactics at the various conventions of the Communist Marine Fractions and these, together with the orders of the Top Marine Fraction, have been meticulously carried out by Curran, Myers, Smith, McKenzie, et. al.

The Party outlined a plan of action for organization of the Party units *aboard ships*. The complete plan was then issued in mimeographed form to Party members aboard ship via the mails and by the delegates of the NMU who were also Party members. The following exact copy of these secret Party instructions are self explanatory and do not need any further comment as the seamen who read them will realize how well Party members have executed these instructions aboard ship.

It is only necessary that the seamen reconstruct some past happenings aboard their ships in order for them to fully realize how well the party orders have been followed by the units on ships.

An article entitled, what the District Training School taught me, by Elizabeth Austin, pages 38 to 40 in the Party Organizer (official Communist organ of the

Communist Party), May 1937, throws further light on the CP training schools. The last paragraph on page 39:

"I'd like to publish here a new song, written by comrades at *the Marine Training School*, which expresses the deep love and loyalty to the Party which we gained at school, and our determination to live up to the standards of my Party:

[Quote]

COMRADESHIP
(Tune: *Maine Stein Song*)

Comradeship, we sing to you—
You give us strength and cheer!
Comradeship, because of you
We fight as one, we do not fear!

(Chorus)

So come, let's sing to unity!
Join with us, comrades all.
Sing with pride and deepest loyalty—
Love of Party *first of all!*

To our fight—to our might—
To our mass, to our class that is spurring us!
To our aim—to our goal—
To the cause, *to the C.I. that's guiding us!*
To defeat—our foe—
To success of our militant comradeship!
To our flag—that is red—
To the triumph of workers' dictatorship!

(Chorus)

[Unquote]

A Guide For Communist Work Aboard Ship

Issued by

WATERFRONT SECTION

230—7th Avenue, New York

THE PARTY IS THE LEADER!

The campaign and mobilization of the workers for struggle must be carried out by all Party organizations . . . above all by the factory nuclei (unit) . . . the factory (ship or dock) must be the center for carrying on our Party and trade union work in carrying on for the struggle.

It is on the ship that we must ROOT ourselves. Abstract agitation around general issues that may be meaningless to the average seaman will gain us nothing.

Work in the union meetings only will not solve the issues.

We must prove that our Party deserves their support and loyalty by giving correct leadership in their day to day struggles and demands.

A UNIT ABOARD EVERY SHIP

To accomplish the rooting of the Party aboard the ships is the duty of every Party member. He must build a unit by recruiting aboard his ship and establishing his prestige as

a capable seaman and fighter for the crew's interests. He must have a long range view of the need of the Party being the leader of the workers in the ultimate struggle for power. The presence of Party units, leaders of the rank and file, are our only guarantee of response to strikes and actions. To build units means that comrades will have to stick to ships. We have to overcome the natural tendency for turn-over.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE UNIT

Comrades working in mills and factories do not think of leaving their jobs (unless fired) without Party permission. We must have the same feeling of responsibility. *Every ship and factory must become a stronghold for our Party.*

It takes three or more comrades to form a unit. These units belong to the Waterfront Section, but are independent of the shore unit. They are furnished with their own dues stamps, etc.

The unit needs an organizer, educational director, literature agent and dues payment (finance) secretary. In other words, this unit functions like a shoreside shop unit.

PARTY IS NOT A CRAFT ORGANIZATION

Every comrade aboard the ship will belong to the unit. Craft functions have nothing to do with Party organization.

The organizer will see to it that the unit carries out the work decided upon. The educational director is responsible for the general presentation of the Party to the crew agitation, etc.) and for the political study and development of the members and sympathizers, arranges forums, etc.

If membership is large enough, several units can be organized on a watch basis, with coordination through the organizers.

KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE SHORESIDE

Before sailing, the unit meet with a Section representative. These meetings will be for the purpose of reporting on the functioning of the unit, planning future work, correction of work, etc.

MEET REGULARLY ABOARD SHIP

While meeting regularly, care must be taken not to expose the Party as such. A little thinking will determine how to go about this, depending on the individual ship. Generally, two things expose the Party:

1. CARELESSNESS
2. POOR WORK

The first gives the spies an easy indication of the Party membership and apparatus. The second gives red-baiters and backward workers a chance to gripe at the Party.

ELECT THE UNIT LEADERSHIP

Be frank and self-critical in getting the unit organized and electing the leadership, because, once elected, *the leadership must be respected and OBEYED.*

YOUR FIRST MEETING

Discuss the general conditions aboard ship and select a common grievance as the first task of the delegates of the departments. *This for mobilizing the crew and getting an opportunity to "classify" the members of it.*

Organize the meeting times and places.

Plan a definite campaign of activity in all the divisions of the work on the basis of a discussion as to what seems the most proper methods of work, in the union, political education, etc.

ISSUE A SHIP'S PAPER

This paper should be handwritten, typed or mimeod, depending on ship situation, length of trips, etc. The paper should reflect ship and company news and should also raise issues for the crew.

Establish contact with "Sparks" and if he is willing and capable he can be of great help in getting out timely leaflets, bulletins, etc. He can also give careful interpretation of news in his regular bulletin.

LITERATURE

Establish our literature in the regular library, if possible. Have it aboard and in circulation, at any event.

If possible, get contacts to subscribe to the cost of it. **DON'T THROW THE "PULP" JUNK OVERBOARD!** This is sectarian and plays into the hands of the red-baiters.

CLASSES AND FORUMS

The unit leadership should determine the type of classes and study groups that can be established. A union class in current maritime problems and union strategy is generally possible. Smaller political study groups can be organized among the members and sympathizers. Where possible, organize forums and lectures, using people from the passengers, etc.

Develop any type of activity along these lines that will involve any number of the crew in it. If some of the men want to study a language, etc., and if there is someone aboard who can help them, get it going.

WE ARE THE PARTY FRACTION IN THE UNION

We must see to it that union work is carried on in the correct manner.

BUT WE MUST NOT BECOME A SUBSTITUTE FOR IT.

We should always try to develop honest, capable non-Party forces in the work. We must not function as only a progressive union group. We are not Wobblies. We are revolutionary workers preparing for the decisive struggle to end capitalism. We have to exist as an independent and influential force in our own right, not just be the "tail" for the union work.

FRATERNIZE WITH THE SHORESIDE WORKERS

When ashore in the home port, particularly, we should see to it that as many members of the crew as possible get acquainted with longshoremen and fraternize with them. In union meetings aboard ship, a report on the current ILA situation should be made. This information can be secured by reading the rank and file paper of the longshoremen and by inquiring at the Section.

It also goes as a matter of course that we should be informed as to the current situation in the licensed men's unions.

Proper attention to the above two points will speed the actual building of the federation spirit in the industry.

IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

We should try to establish the broadest fraternal relations with the foreign workers and people. Where the workers' movements are legal. This can be done very effectively and on a mass scale by arranging for dances, shows, etc., in their halls. In fascist countries we cannot operate so easily. Each unit should decide what is to be done in this case.

It is not wise for individual members to act on their own in these countries.

REPORT TO PARTY REGULARLY

When ashore, if a Party organization exists, report to it. Write to your home port Party organization regularly, if on extended trips.

Each Party member should feel at liberty to write articles for the union and Party papers, discuss any problems or questions with Party leaders, etc.

From the day you get your Party book you have a full vote and all rights of a member. You also carry the responsibility of forming the Party's policies and carrying them out.

Try to study systematically. The Educational Committee comrades and more experienced comrades will always be glad to help you plan a course of study while at sea or ashore. But try to establish the habit of reading the "Communist" which is the monthly scientific magazine of our Party; the "Communist International," the monthly magazine of the CI, and

the Party Organizer" which monthly gives concrete examples of work and experiences of Party organizations that will be of help to you.

You can get literature credit before sailing.

Here is a list of the major Party headquarters or bookshops on both coasts and the Lakes:

Boston	8 Beach St.	Baltimore	501 A.N. Eutaw St.
Buffalo	61 W. Chippewa	Chicago	200 W. Van Buren St.
Cleveland	1522 Prospect Ave.	Detroit	3537 Woodward Ave.
Duluth	28 E. 1st St.	Los Angeles	230 S. Spring St.
Milwaukee	419 W. State St.	Newark	33 Halway St.
New Orleans	130 Chartres St.	New York	35 E. 12th St.
Oakland	567 12th St.	Philadelphia	104 S. 9th St.
Portland, Ore.	314 W. S. Madison	Providence	335 Westminster
Sacramento	1024 6th Ave.	San Diego	635 East St.
St. Louis	350 Franklin Ave.	San Pedro	244 W. 6th St.
San Francisco	121 Haight St.	Superior	601 Tower Ave.
Seattle	713½ Pine St.	Toledo	214 Michigan St.
Tacoma	1315 Tacoma Ave.		

If you have any questions, come to the Section; also write to the following address: J. Robinson, 50 East 13th St.

The following article from the Daily Worker, June 22, 1936, which deals with their "marine training school" that year, illustrates clearly the furtive manner in which the communists operate. For example the article states "Seafaring men know that at certain times it is necessary to conceal affiliation with the Party. Therefore we should be instructed in a safe manner of identifying Party members."

The quote needs no further comment.

Seamen Give Report On Marine School

Two-Day Session Training School Gives New Party Members Understanding of Basic Problems Before the Working Class

Because of the fact that we realized that the Democratic and Republican Parties were not fighting for the working class, legislative-ly or otherwise, we joined the Communist Party. We saw the correctness of the Communist Party program each day during the seamen's strike.

After the strike we saw how little we knew of the Communist Party organization. Therefore, we attended the school so that when

we went back aboard the ships we could help the Communist Party and the International Seamen's Union.

Our reaction to the education we received in the two days was very favorable, we learned plenty. But due to the shortage of time, we had to cram quite a bit.

The School Sessions

Teachers Hudson and Ballam made us feel part of the class, more so than the others.

They tested our intelligence by asking us questions and summarizing later. Thus our shortcomings were quickly pointed out to us.

Comrade Edwards on his structure of the Party should be more explicit. A chart of some sort should be prepared, instead of a blackboard diagram. It seems as if most of the students are not yet enlightened.

Comrade White spoke long and rapidly for forty minutes. We believe if questions had been asked during the session, instead of after then it would have penetrated our minds better and stayed there longer. His explanation of voting and politics was very satisfactory.

Some Questions

Here we wish to disagree. Some think that trade unionism should be taught first. Some say political economy. Some say the emphasis should be on Party structure, as we understand political economy instinctively, trade unionism slightly, but Party structure not at all.

We wish to point out that we have not yet been taught the workers' song, the "Internationale." We should all know this. Neither could we recognize a Communist Party member who belongs to the same unit as we do. Many attend unit meetings before joining and others never do join. Seafaring men know that at certain times it is necessary to conceal affiliation with the Party. Therefore, we should be instructed in a safe manner of identifying Party members.

We feel that as our opinions have been asked, considered and acted upon in several instances, proves we are a vital part of the movement and our Communist Party knowledge has given us prestige among our fellow-workers.

Section Estimate

We are submitting the students report on the seamen's school to the entire membership of the seamen's units because we believe that the new Party members will see the need of additional and continuous study on their part, from the experience of their own comrades.

The students received a package of literature which is based on the course of the studies. Each unit member should get this package before shipping out. It is charged to you and totals \$1.50.

Plan of School

We planned the school to cover the following topics. A study of the difference between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world; a study of the war menace; a study of how our Party is organized and why it has the structure it has; how to work aboard ships as a Party member; a study of the situation in the ISU and showing how it is tied up with the whole union movement, particularly the industrial organization drive; and finally a study of the United front and the Labor Party movement with an explanation of the Party's position in the 1936 elections.

The number who attended the school was less than the number who could have.

Therefore, we think this school should be held once a month. It should consist of all the new members who have joined in that month and others who have joined before but have had no Party schooling.

Each day in the Section at 2 p.m. we will be willing to hold informal discussions with any group of comrades that want to come up and spend an hour or two on questions which they want to thrash out. These comrades should speak to Comrade White when they come up.

Sectional Educational Department.

XXIII CP TERROR

AT many meetings Curran and the comrades flayed various members charging them with having used anti-union policies and baseball bats to gain their points. The Pilot "crusaded" against such tactics and continually exhorted the membership to denounce all those using such "depraved methods." Units on ships aided the packed shore meetings by sending in resolutions of condemnation. Finally, after intensive agitation, the Party achieved its objective when *a thoroughly alarmed membership fearfully agreed* that anyone convicted of participating in "these acts of terrorism" must be severely dealt with.

Having accomplished that, the Party proceeded to carry out the next part of their plan. All their enemies were branded with the "baseball bat" symbol so repulsive to the membership. Any member can easily recall the storms that raged within the NMU concerning the so-called use of baseball bats.

However, the record again exposes the usual Communist smokescreen of lies, deception and skillful smearing. It shows that the boys who hollered wolf loudest were the ones who *did* use baseball bats. It shows the "democratic" comrades dumping those who refused to agree with *their* views. Long before the advent of the Mariners' Club, baseball bats, intimidation, expulsions, smear campaigns and dumpings were an integral part of the regular Communist program for organizing the seamen "along the right lines." The record shows in the Communists' own words and handwritings that the facts stated by us in this document *are true*.

In 1937 when the MFOW was still "affiliated" to the AF of L, Comrade Thomas Mc Gowan, Boston Agent, wrote some revealing letters to Comrade Moe Byne. On April 3, Mc Gowan describes how he and Robert Mills had carried on a "whispering campaign" against one Sawyer to "discredit him" and "wreck his influence."

Mc Gowan told how he had traveled back and forth from Boston with "our lawyer" who was expected to aid him in doing a "neat job of *discrediting the opposition*."

Byne originally operated with the comrades in Boston and undoubtedly the pangs of homesickness overpowered him at times. However, Comrade Mc Gowan did his utmost to relieve Byne of his nostalgia. The two ran up the firemen's bills *tremendously* with their numerous daily long distance phone calls *gossiping* about the old home town. He supplemented his calls with letters describing in detail happenings "back home."

On April 15, 1937 Mc Gowan, speaking of a rival, told how "we got him drunk the other night and got plenty of information from him." Aside from being a more or less "prolific" penman, the record shows our ingenious agent to have been a versatile "gentleman" after a fashion. The comrades had been trying to remove Dick Stewart for some time. He was tried before a joint meeting and suspended for one month contrary to the hopes of Mc Gowan who "wanted to

expel him." He then told Byne of his plans to "see that Stewart met with an accident" before the next meeting on the following Monday night.

Being "versatile" however, Mc Gowan was not the sort of a chap who left things to chance. He accordingly connived to meet with Marty Flaherty of Local 805 and make plans to pack the firemen's meeting with longshoremen.

On April 22, Mc Gowan once more wrote Byne. He gleefully told how he, Robert Mills and Marty Flaherty had toured the ginmills drinking with many longshoremen. [The Party in all probability financed this safari]. Afterwards Marty Flaherty and twenty longshoremen "suitably pickled," went to the union hall and *intimidated the membership*. At the next regular meeting, the following Monday night, the membership failed to show up and there was no meeting, much to Mc Gowan's disappointment. *He had arranged a "baseball bat" reception for his friends at the union hall* and their failure to attend was certainly a poor display of "sportsmanship."

It is significant that this all occurred *PRIOR* to the actual formation of the National Maritime Union. As exposed in the letters, *the comrades packed meetings, used baseball bats AND GANGED UP on the seamen with longshoremen*.

With the aid of lawyers and whispering campaigns they discredited any opposition and when the opposition had been sufficiently weakened, some official went to Boston from New York and finished the job backed by a meeting specially packed for the occasion.

Robert Mills, referred to by Mc Gowan will be remembered chiefly for his later reports on "the state of our union." He came to New York where the comrades used him in a "super auditing capacity." Together with other comrades, Mills was "elected" *on numerous occasions* to auditing committees to investigate the "precarious financial state" of the union. Curran, Myers and others aided the plan by agitating the fears of the membership with continual cries that the union was going broke through mismanagement. (This strategy was aimed at the non-Communists holding official positions).

Mills, et al, would then bring reports back to the meetings that tallied with the studied lamentations of Curran and the Comrades. With the fears of the membership properly aroused, it would be comparatively easy for the Party members to further discredit the officials opposing them. There was one glaring inconsistency in the whole *cute scheme*, however, that strangely was never noticed by the membership.

Neither Mills nor any of the other seamen were accountants, *certified or otherwise*, yet, they returned reports which unmistakably bore all the earmarks of having been prepared *by trained accountants*. *The fact was that Party auditors made up the spurious reports which the Mills committees palmed off on the membership as their own*.

Comrade Mc Gowan, caught with his pants down, as witness his letters to Byne, is the same union brother who filled the record later on (like all comrades) with loud cries for "peace" and "democracy" when the disgusted membership took a leaf from his own book and fed him a dose of his own medicine.

**MARINE FIREMEN OILERS AND WATERTENDERS UNION
OF THE ATLANTIC AND GULF**

AFFILIATED WITH A. F. of L.

132 BROAD STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

TELEPHONE LIBERTY 5763

BUSINESS AGENT
THOMAS MCGOWAN
DELEGATES
MARTIN J. WALSH
J. MONTAL

April 3rd, '37.

Dear Mr.

Your letter received, and with reference to the book of Eugene V. Rodman, we stand rebuked. As I said before General Franco issued a duplicate book to Rodman, who wanted to retain his old number so the "General" rubs the original number out and gives Rodman his old number. As the 'General' is still in high gear, a West Coast man wanted an Atlantic number, so nothing daunted the General gives to the W. Coast man Rodman's original number. When Franco returned he received a verbal licking, sulked for a day, then promised not to repeat.

I just returned from New Bedford where the Nantucket boats are on strike. And believe me, there is a hot situation. This strike was scheduled to be called Monday, April 5th, but instead a 'wise boy' called Sawyer called the strike

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MARTIN J. WALSH
J. MONTAL

Thursday and caught us unprepared. Immediately he forms a committee with himself as 'head man'. He then hires a lawyer and gives him the sole bargaining role. Does this smell; this lawyer ran on the same ticket as the lawyer who represents the Company. - Phew! When Mills and I got there, we found Alberto from Providence had all the men sign pledge cards, but Sawyer and the lawyer refused to let Alberto in on the conference, positively refused, and due to the influence of Sawyer, who is another Bennett Murphy, Alberto did not want to push the issue. So Mills and myself went to work, carrying on a whispering campaign against Sawyer, and also batting him on the floor, to discredit him and wreck his influence. Due to the peculiar set-up, it is one of those father to son affairs, everybody knows the other fellow, we had to go pretty easy rather than rush it and destroy their confidence. They don't know anything about Unions or Unionsmen, but are learning fast. In the first place,

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J. MONTAL

74

the I. L. O. refused to go through the picket line, and the Steamers, Union and non-Union, refused also. The company is only a small outfit, but our success on the Providence and Fall River lines depends a lot on our success here. Meanwhile Mills and Alberts are staying in New Bedford, while I came back to take Grant, our lawyer, back with me. {When we get to New Bedford, we, with the aid of our lawyer, expect to do a neat job of discrediting our Brother Sawyer and his lawyer friend.} I have to leave now for New Bedford, so General Franco says, that now the Spanish Government is winning, don't you go to Spain, or else the cause is lost. — The General is hot today

703-~~SPEN~~

Sincerely,
Tom McGowan

Note: "General Franco" referred to in letters is Moutal (Montell)

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BUSINESS AGENT
THOMAS MCGOWAN

DELEGATES
MARTIN J. WALSH
J. MONTAL

76

*Planned for
April 15, '37*

Dear Mr.:

I am enclosing the receipt for fifteen dollars, sorry. I didn't mail it sooner but things have been so hot, fast and furious around here I didn't have time. As regards the Bewandale Coal Company, we can't do anything until one of our ships get here, and also the managing director is not here at present. We have to see the company again Monday.

The U.F.O. opened an office here and their Agent is a guy named George Martin who was expelled from the M.E.B.A. (He claims to be a personal friend of Grainer). He got him down the other night and got plenty of information from him, that is local news. Take this for what it is worth but he claims that Captain Milliken is to get Weaver's job, and he has a letter in his files, (he claims it is from Milliken) that Ryan has assured Milliken that if the West Coast refuses to recognize the U.F.O., we will refuse to unload the West Coast ships here. Sounds like boloney to me, but this guy claims to have a letter to prove it - Ask Grainer about this Martin.

703-1212

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BUSINESS AGENT
THOMAS MCGOWAN

DELEGATES
MARTIN J. WALSH
J. MONTAL

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Now for another growl. All the coal boats coming in the past week all claim that some delegate in Norfolk is 'coming aboard' and telling them that there is to be a strike in May. The coal boat men are turned up in May. The coal boat men are turned up about it as in Norfolk they are told there is a strike coming and in Boston nobody knows anything about it.

Now for Stewart, the crew of the *Mundaker* came here Monday night to prefer charges against him. Before the meeting started Stewart asked and put a motion on the floor that we try all three crafts - You can read it all in the minutes - he was found guilty and suspended for one month. I wanted to expel him but the suspension went over. Now this Stewart is calling unconstitutional. wants an M. F. O. W. trial, or else. He was so thoroughly exposed Monday night that Tuesday they definitely came out in the open and lined up with Mogan.

Tuesday afternoon we had a little battle here, and one of them wound up unconscious. So now the story is that Stewart, Mogan, and Ted Flaherty are coming in Monday night.

103-10EU

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132 BROAD STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

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BUSINESS AGENT
THOMAS MCGOWAN

DELEGATES
MARTIN J. WALSH
J. MONTAL

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with some of McGowan longshoremen and Eastern
Steamship firm. Sounds good. does it

Also more of Brother Lundberg's men jumped
of the President Garfield here to help it

Stewart. -- Meanwhile I have a date with
Marty C. Loherty; I will post today and
make arrangements for Monday.

In the meantime, we shall see that Brother
Stewart meets with an accident before the

Well, outside of that, everything is fine,
except that shipping is crazy, and this
is the kind of wild when we have had
demon for some time.

With best regards from General
Miles Grance —

703-1060

Fraternally Yours
J. F. Grance

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AFFILIATED WITH A. F. of L.

351 ATLANTIC AVENUE
BOSTON, MASS.

BUSINESS AGENT
THOMAS MCGOWAN

DELEGATES
W. WALKER
J. MONTAL

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TELEPHONE LIBERTY 8763

April 22nd, 1937.

Dear Mac,

Your letter received and your sarcastic
joke of eagerly awaiting my "photograph"
Well, you asked for it, so now you got it,
and when Brother Hague of the Standard
of New Jersey gets a look at those pictures,
he will say to himself that the racketeers
have gained control of the M F O U.

Now as regards Monday night's meeting.
as I told you before Stewart, Hogan and
Jack Flaherty had formed an United front
and with 'some' longshoremen were supposed
to move in Monday night. Saturday, Mill
and myself, toured the waterfront (saloons)
and with Marty Flaherty, we must have
met and ~~drunk~~ ^{downed} beer with every longshoreman
in Boston, so that afternoon Flaherty and
twenty longshoremen, who were just ^{feeling} right,
came to the Hall, went around every lobby
and declared themselves, Marty Flaherty picked
on Brother Stewart, and Stewart has'nt been
seen since. When Monday night came,
nobody showed up so no meeting was held.

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OF THE ATLANTIC AND GULF

AFFILIATED WITH A. F. of L.

331 ATLANTIC AVENUE
BOSTON, MASS.

BUSINESS AGENT
THOMAS MCGOWAN

DELEGATES
W. WALKER
J. MONTAL

TELEPHONE LIBERTY 5763

Incidentally, we were disappointed as we were lined up with baseball bats waiting for our friends to show up.

The Edward Lokenbach arrived here Tuesday with 'What-a-man' Quinn, who came up to the Hall Tuesday night. After we closed up at eight o'clock Quinn and the Bos'n left for the barroom. According to the story we got later, the Wobblies were in the barroom also and sat drinking with Quinn and the Bos'n until closing time, and Quinn of course declared himself after he got warmed up. At closing time the Wobblies left, while Quinn and the Bos'n started back to the ship, and as they were crossing the Bridge, two taxi-cabs pulled up and nine thugs jumped Quinn and the Bos'n, using feet and knives. When I seen them yesterday, Quinn has several ribs bent in and his left ear almost cut off, while the Bos'n was cut up a little. Now who did it? a professional goon squad or the Wobblies. We have at the least idea but Mills seems to think it might be the same mob who pulled the job in Philadelphia, if so, why

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THOMAS MCGOWANDELEGATES
W. WALKER
J. MONTAL

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TELEPHONE LIBERTY 5763

would they pick on a couple of guys who have no official position. It may have been professionals with the Wobs acting as finger-men as the taxis were parked opposite the lunch room where we usually eat at night but, fortunately, Tuesday night we were down on the Lykes Bros. ship "Cody" until ten thirty. Personally, I don't think they were professionals, because if they were, they could walk in this Hall anytime and knock us for a goal, as we have virtually no protection at all here. I confess it has me puzzled, and ^{an} the Longmenis ^{up?}

Now for "Pain in the face" Montal. when do you want him to come to New York? you can have him anytime. We got him half drunk the other night, and so help me, he actually smiled. They shoot animals with better dispositions than Franco.

"Comradski Piunnski sends his regards to Mashev Mike."

With best regards.

Fraturnately Yours.

T. M. McGowan. } (over)

XXIV LEGISLATIVE OFFICE

THE Communists, realizing the importance of controlling the NMU legislative office in Washington, had attempted for quite some time to install their "own man" there. Ralph Emerson had been elected to this post at a meeting of the striking seamen at the Manhattan Lyceum early in January 1937. His election was unanimously reaffirmed by the first NMU convention. He proved "unsatisfactory" to Curran and the Party as he consistently refused to permit the comrades to use his office as a clearing house to further their political schemes.

With the so-called New York Maritime Council set up, the comrades attempted to supercede Emerson. "Secretary" Tommy Ray visited Washington frequently where he represented himself as the spokesman of the seamen. Emerson quickly moved to clarify this situation, however. He informed the Administration Officials that Tommy Ray did not represent the seamen, that he spoke only for the so-called New York Maritime Council. Mervyn Rathborne, president of the Council, also aided in the comrades' scheme to circumvent Emerson's office but his efforts were abortive.

Unable to sidetrack Emerson whose work in the interests of the seamen was above reproach, the Comrades bided their time. Finally Curran acting under orders from the Party, brought charges against Emerson at the same meeting where he read off the Communists blanket "indictment" against King, Phillips and the others. No trial committee has acted on these charges to date. Comrade Steve Harvey was then sent to Washington to take over the office which Comrade P. B. Whalen had been "guarding" with a contingent of comrades from Baltimore.

When the Communists took over the reins in the Washington office the seamen suffered an irreparable loss. It is now well known by all the Legislators on Capitol Hill in Washington that the National Maritime Union is a political front for the Communist Party. Following the recent openly apparent "united front" of the Communist Party and the NMU on the Finnish situation, the present union administration lost its last remaining prestige in the Nation's Capitol. It logically follows, that Democratic and Republican members of Congressional Committees are reluctant to act on legislation which would better the seamen's economic condition in view of the fact that such legislation will be used by the Communist Party to further its own political ends primarily.

The following excerpt from the Congressional Record, Tuesday, June 20, 1939, expose the sitaution completely:

COMMUNISM IN OUR MERCHANT MARINE

SPEECH of
HON. JOSEPH J. O'BRIEN
of New York
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 20, 1939

Letter from Ralph Emerson

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen of the House, as a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee my attention has been called to the startling

fact that certain subversive activities are now being perpetrated by well-known communistic leaders conspicuously identified with the National Maritime Union and our water transportation industry.

We who abhor the word purge have been brought to the full realization that the Communists in these organizations are now purging our American-born seamen and our American-born officials of the maritime unions.

If this continues, and un-American purge is not checked, it will assume such gigantic proportions it will be imperative for the Congress of these United States to enact drastic legislation so we might, and in fact we will, preserve our merchant marine and our American institutions in such a manner they will not be literally scuttled.

Washington, D. C., June 17, 1939.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL MARITIME UNION

Dear Brothers: As you all know by now, I have recently become the object of a vicious slandering campaign, instigated by those officials of our union who are either outright Communists or who are pro-Communist. This campaign has culminated in my being accused openly of conspiring with persons within the union to sabotage and wreck the administration of the union's affairs on behalf of the shipping interests. Finally, I was suspended from office about 4 weeks ago by those members of our national council who are in control at New York headquarters. It is peculiar to note in this instance that the two members of the national council from the Gulf district were unaware of my suspension until after I had been out of office for over 2 weeks. As I write this I have before me a notice from some purported trial committee at NMU headquarters in New York advising me to the effect that my trial will begin on Monday, June 19. No copy of any charges accompanied this letter. When suspended by the national council I was accused of "alleged activities detrimental to union." That is all I have been given to prepare my defense on, although all kinds of unofficial rumors have been circulated at all ports along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts intimating that I am a "ship-owner's stooge," "labor spy," "reactionary," etc. These rumors have even been circulated here in Washington but I am happy to state that due to my past record here on behalf of maritime labor I have found no one to date who considers them to be more than just what they are—vicious attempts at slander from persons who disagree with me regarding my political views.

Now, I have absolutely no intention of capitulating to the whims and desires of the Communist group within the NMU any more than I would capitulate to any other minority group within our ranks. Therefore, they can go ahead and hold all the trials and investigations of me that they wish. The only sensible thing for me to do when I am summoned to appear before a trial committee selected from any minority faction is to ignore any such mock procedure and stay home here in Washington or spend the day peacefully fishing in Chesapeake Bay. For it is a well-known fact that, regardless of what the personal opinion of any ordinary member of the Communist Party who might be on my trial committee may be, that personal opinion has to be subjugated in favor of decisions handed down from the leaders of the party—so no doubt my fate has already been decided. Therefore, why waste a day going to New York and why waste the union's funds for the trip?

Insofar as my case is concerned, there is not one shred of evidence of any nature to substantiate the so-called charges that have been brought against me. It is very noticeable that no reflection has been cast upon the legislative work that I have done in Washington for the past 2½ years on behalf of the maritime workers. In this respect I would like to leave one thought for the consideration of the seamen. Is it not peculiar that I should be charged with having been connected with any group on the water front who were supposed to have received a few paltry dollars from the shipping interests, when at the same time I have successfully defended the seamen against major attacks on the legislative front here in Washington?

If I were in the pay of the shipping interests, then why did I carry on a successful fight in Washington against compulsory arbitration laws for maritime workers? Why did I lead

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

799-1815

COMMUNISM IN OUR MERCHANT MARINE

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH J. O'BRIEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 20, 1939

LETTER FROM RALPH EMERSON

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, ladies, and gentlemen of the House, as a member of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee my attention has been called to the startling fact that certain subversive activities are now being perpetrated by well-known communistic leaders conspicuously identified with the National Maritime Union and our water transportation industry.

We who abhor the word purge have been brought to the full realization that the Communists in these organizations are now purging our American-born seamen and our American-born officials of the maritime unions.

Maritime and in American purge is not checked.

been cast upon the legislative work that I have done in Washington for the past 2½ years on behalf of the maritime workers. In this respect I would like to leave one thought for the consideration of the seamen. Is it not peculiar that I should be charged with having been connected with any group on the water front who were supposed to have received a few paltry dollars from the shipping interests, when at the same time I have successfully defended the seamen against major attacks on the legislative front here in Washington?

If I were in the pay of the shipping interests, then why did I carry on a successful fight in Washington against compulsory arbitration laws for maritime workers? Why did I lead and win the fight here against the continuous discharge book for seamen? Why did I fight and succeed in having the rules for the Government training schools for merchant seamen changed so that organized maritime labor would not suffer as a result? Why have I spent months in attempting to have social security extended to seamen? The amendment to include seamen just recently passed the House and is now before the Senate Finance Committee. Here are items that are vital and will cost the shipping interests plenty of money. I do not want to give the impression that I alone was responsible for the success we have obtained in Washington, as at all times the membership of the union have given me every bit of support possible; but it is the Washington representative that has to shoulder the responsibility of the success or failure of the legislative program in the final analysis, and it is upon his shoulders that the major portion of the detailed work rests, and he could certainly do plenty of damage to any Washington program if he were a traitor to those who have put their trust in him. Therefore I would urge that the membership of the N. M. U. think this over carefully and see for yourselves if all is as Joe Curran and others at N. M. U. headquarters would have you believe. As for Curran himself, I have

Clip from Congressional Record scoring Communist purges of Anti-Communist union officials from the NMU—
See full print of text

and win the fight here against the continuous discharge book for seamen? Why did I fight and succeed in having the rules for the Government training schools for merchant seamen changed so that organized maritime labor would not suffer as a result? Why have I spent months in attempting to have social security extended to seamen? The amendment to include seamen just recently passed the House and is now before the Senate Finance Committee. Here are items that are vital and will cost the shipping interests plenty of money. I do not want to give the impression that I alone was responsible for the success we have obtained in Washington, as at all times the membership of the union have given me every bit of support possible; but it is the Washington representative that has to shoulder the responsibility of the success or failure of the legislative program in the final analysis, and it is upon his shoulders that the major portion of the detailed work rests, and he could certainly do plenty of damage to any Washington program if he were a traitor to those who have put their trust in him. Therefore I would urge that the membership of the NMU think this over carefully and see for yourselves if all is as Joe Curran and others at NMU headquarters would have you believe. As for Curran himself, I have only one thing to say—in my opinion he has sunk below the level of the cheapest labor faker.

In regard to the recent "trial" of Jerome King, national secretary-treasurer, I was in New York during the period in which the so-called trial committee was summing up the case and I wish to state here that I have never seen such an outright farce in all my life. Regardless of whether there was any foundation for the charges or not King never had a chance to get a fair and impartial hearing and the "cards were stacked" against him. History will bear this out. The report made by the members of his trial committee from the Gulf district on their return to New Orleans shows clearly the unfairness of the whole procedure from the start.

Now, I have never had any trouble before with the Communist Party, although I have always known that quite a number of our union officials were members of that political party, but if the tactics which have recently been employed by their water-front section in conducting this "mass purge" of non-Communist officials reflects the general policy of the Communist party as a whole, then I say it is high time that the Communist Party was completely divorced from the American labor movement. For this purging policy which they are now following in the maritime industry is one of destruction and the majority of the seamen on the ships are not going to submit to it as chaos will surely result in our maritime unions. The final result will be that the employer interests will take complete advantage of this confusion and collective-bargaining rights of employees will suffer and the seamen will return to the days of starvation wages and foul living conditions. Therefore if this present policy of the Communist Party in the maritime industry is not the general policy of that party on a national scale it would be well for the leaders in that party to do a little "purging" within their own ranks before they bring on their own self-destruction.

I have always been and will continue to be an ardent believer in the Roosevelt administration and the CIO but the time has now come when the administration and the CIO will have to curb the "screwballs" who attempt to hang on to the outer fringe of the New Deal with the one hand, whilst with the other they try to tear down every constructive attempt to better the conditions of the working-class people in order to further their own political aims.

Finally I wish it understood that, in view of the disruptive and filthy, slanderous policy now being followed out by the present officials in power in the NMU, it would be impossible for me to represent this policy. I therefore cheerfully accept the dismissal of my services as legislative representative as made by Josph Curran at the recent conference of port agents, where he stated before witnesses that "Emerson is suspended and is going to stay suspended."

I now close with the sincere hope that the near future will find us attaining those objectives for which we have so long fought, and that out of our present difficulties will emerge a stronger and more united National Maritime Union.

Fraternally yours,

RALPH EMERSON,
Book No. 614, Stewards Division, NMU.

XXV APPENDIX

JOE CURRAN

Curran, CP number one boy, joined the Eastern and Gulf Sailor's Association in May, 1935 and was expelled in March 1936. Claims to have been a member of the SUP, however the records while George Larsen was secretary there did not show that Curran had ever joined. Lundeberg never said that Curran was a member while he was secretary, therefore, it would seem that Curran's claims are a little at variance with the truth.

Curran stated that he had been a member of the MWIU before joining the ISU but when he was questioned about this organization, he made a fool of himself. Apparently the comrades had not coached him well enough on this subject.

He did admit that he did not join the ISU *voluntarily* which lends weight to Gus Brown's story of "having had" to force Curran to become a union man." Was questioned before the Dies Committee on October 28, 1939 and told so many lies that he can be "salted" any time they see fit on the grounds that he committed perjury while under oath.

Had Curran wished to line up with the seamen against the Party, the Communists would have been beaten. Though the majority of the seamen are not communists or in sympathy with them, they have faith in Curran. Thus the Communist Party is thus able to mislead them through Curran whom the seamen have been "carefully trained" to believe in. The record will prove beyond a doubt that Curran is an unscrupulous liar, who has played ball with the Communist Party "*almost always.*" (See page 187 for Curran's record).

(See picture opposite).

The "American League for Peace and Democracy" was originally called the "United States Congress Against War and Fascism." (It will be noted that throughout all of the various transitions these "front" organizations never advocated opposition to Communism).

Later the name was changed to the "American League Against War and Fascism." It is the American section of the "World Committee Against War and Fascism," now the "World League for Peace and Democracy." The call for the first "United States Congress" was issued by well known Communists and left-wing Socialists. The late Henri Barbusse, French Communist, was the founder of this international movement. He came to the United States to assist in launching the American section. This first "United States Congress Against War and Fascism" was held in St. Nicholas Arena and Mecca Temple, New York City, September 29-30, 1933. Many Communists, such as Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Roy B. Hudson and many others served on its various important committees.

At one time, this CP dominated organization claimed adherents totalling seven and a half million people. After it's recent exposure by the Dies Committee, the Moscow controlled "American League for Peace and Democracy" folded up.

The Communist Party has always been noted because it changes its line and the names of its various fronts far oftener than many of its members change their shirts. Their new line features "democratic rights"—"civil liberties committees," etc.

The NMU officials who formerly supported the various congresses and leagues now dutifully follow the changed party line. At meetings and in the Pilot, they have endorsed the latest bastard offspring born of the Communazi mis-alliance, which is called the "Yanks Are Not Coming."

- DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1932

CIO Parley

Industrial Unionism Is
Due on Floor—Pro-
posal Is Voted Down

for a conference of 200 rather as
an initial method of approach on
the part of the Committee for
Industrial Organization.

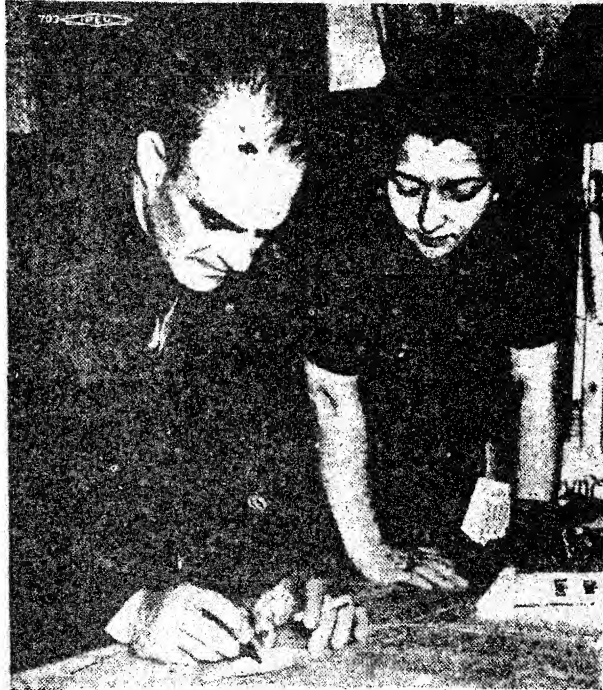
"We know every substantial
union in the Committee for In-
dustrial Organization, at least
those formerly in association and
in good standing with the Amer-
ican Federation of Labor, is ably
experienced in conference meth-
ods.

"They know as we know that we
cannot employ mass committees
in negotiating agreements with
employers. They know as we do
that governments do not apply
mass conferences in dealing with
matters of state. Large groups are
employed to carry on conflicts.
Small groups are employed to ne-
gotiate peace.

Understanding, agreement and
conciliation, mass conferences lead
to expressions of bitterness and
hatred and not to words of friend-
liness and cooperative under-
standing."

YES TO LARGER GROUP
Executive Council did agree
to enlarge the special
reasonable num-
ber should insist upon

Joining the American League



Hundreds of seamen are expected to follow the example of Joseph Curran (above), general organizer of the National Maritime Union, in signing up as a member of the American League Against War and Fascism. Curran's induction took place at recent Madison Square Garden meeting for China. The American League helped the seamen in their fight against the Copeland "Fink" Book.

TOMMY RAY

Commissar Thomas (Tommy) Ray, at present the Party big gun on the waterfront. The first editor of the Pilot, according to his own statements. Was a member of the district "buro" of the Communist Party of California around 1928-1929. "Leader" of the Marine Worker's League there also. Was a member of the ISH International Executive Council and attended various congresses of the ISH in Europe, 1930-'32.

Is a member of the Top Marine Fraction of the Communist Party (USA) and is in a position to tell Browder and other communazi "biggies" where to get off at where marine policies are concerned. Used to write most of Curran's speeches and generally accompanied him on out of town trips, where he stayed quietly in the background and gave Curran his orders. Was the one who drew up the first original NMU draft constitution and acted as

secretary of the first convention at the Manhattan Opera House, where the party was unsuccessful in putting it over.

Tells Curran where to head in and keeps him in line when Curran's head swells a little too much to suit the Party. Knows more about waterfront activities than any other ranking communist and will tell Bridges, Curran, Rathborne or any of them their "fortunes" if they don't take his instructions. Is vicious and completely cold blooded and will stop at nothing to gain his ends. Was secretary of the New York Maritime Council. This was the setup through which the Communist Party had hoped to control all the waterfront union affiliated to it. It folded up when the Engine division of the NMU withdrew its financial support and the deck division did likewise. The Party was unable to finance this scheme without the help of the NMU.

Walks into any office in the NMU whenever he pleases and gives orders. Dorothy Snyder, Curran's stenographer, who most of the time functions as the president of the NMU, constantly reports to him via the telephone, on Curran's movements each day.

Travels all over the country and is present at all important conferences and meetings of the maritime unions. Was in New Orleans at the last NMU convention. Had very little sea service. Tommy Ray is the *real* president of the National Maritime Union of America.

AL LANNON

Al Vetere (Al Lannon), admits proudly he is a Communist. Is officially listed in CP documents as a party functionary. Made last trip to sea on the SS Seathrush in order to qualify as a delegate to the first NMU convention. Represented that ship at that convention. Trained in military tactics and handling of small arms while attending Lenin School in Soviet Russia. Is a fairly good shot. Was active in the Spring strike for the Party and later a member of the strike strategy committee, '36-'37. All '36-'37, strike clearances were countersigned by Lannon under Curran's signature. (see facsimile signatures on cards).

Ran for office on the ballot in the first NMU elections but was defeated. Travels around the country extensively for the Party. In March, 1938, while acting for the CP, tried to swing a loan to the Canadian Seamen's Union from the NMU. A letter from Pat Sullivan of the CSU to Comrade George Rodway, former Great Lakes NMU organizer, reveals the "directives" of the Party in this matter. The letter said:

CANADIAN SEAMEN'S UNION
J. A. (Pat) SULLIVAN, Secretary-Treasurer
Affiliated With
INTERNATIONAL SEAMEN'S UNION OF AMERICA
National Office:
681-685 COMMON ST., MONTREAL, QUE.

March 2nd, 1938.

Mr. G. Rodway
N. M. U.
126 - 11th Ave.
N. Y. City, N. Y.
Dear George:—

Your letter of March 1st to hand and glad to receive same. So far we have had no success in the floating of the loan from your organization to the C.S.U.

Needless to say there is no need me repeating again the absolute necessity of us getting the said loan as it is a matter of life and death to our organization. I was speaking to Al Lannon on the phone Monday and I think there was some misunderstanding when he was here, and we hope that this will be cleared up in the future.

I received a telegram from J. Curran stating that it was impossible for him to do anything. I would appreciate very much anything that you can do during your stay at headquarters. I would suggest that you also have a talk to our friend Roy Hudson and get him on the job. I will be in Toronto up until Sunday night and will leave there Monday morning

for Montreal. If you should desire to wire me or get in touch with me, the address is 95½ Church St., Toronto, the phone no. can be got from Information. Thanking you again for your letter and hoping you received the picture,

Fraternally yours,

HS.JAS

Pat. J. A. S.

Lannon spoke at NMU meetings only when the "heat" was on the Party and it became necessary for them to rally their forces. Served the Party on the "CIO organizing committee" working out of 10 Bridge St. Ranks almost as high as Tommy Ray in party circles on water-front matters and is a member of the Top Marine Fraction. Reported to have acted as a "courier" for the Party in Europe while posing as an American writer. Reported to have done time in Western Penitentiary.

The following copy of a telegram sent by Lannon to Comrade Montal of Boston, shows clearly that the Party was sending orders during the strikes, up and down the Coast outside of the scope of the strike committee designated by the strikers. Here is shown a telegram, directing strike activities, by a Party functionary (Lannon) to another Party functionary (Montal, also a union official), *before* the strike began or Lannon was on the strike committee.

The telegram it will be noted, was sent care of the Morning Freiheit. This paper, at 5 Harrison Ave., Boston in 1936, (now at 611 Washington St), is one of the daily papers published by the Communist Party.

NEW YORK	NY	1936	OCT 31	PM	12:35
J. MONTAL					
CARE FREHEIT				5 HARRISON AVE	
OFFICIAL UNION MASS MEETING HERE TONIGHT STOP HOLD ALL SHIPS					
PENDING RESULTS STOP SITDOWN ACTIONS BEST STOP DISREGARD ALL					
WIRES CLEARING WEST COAST SHIPS.					
LANNON.					

ROY B. HUDSON

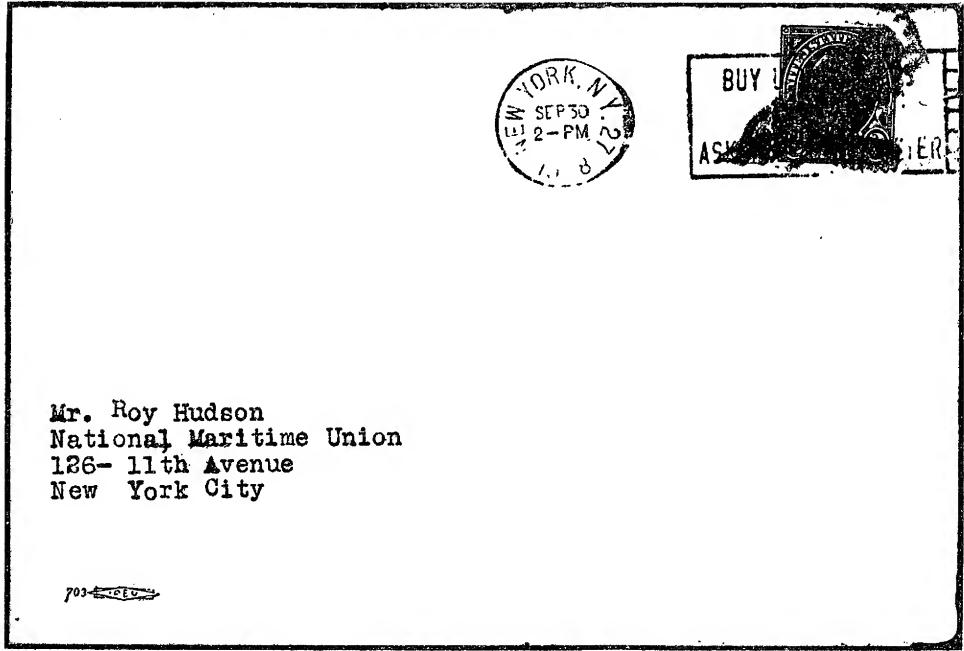
Commissar Roy B. (Horseface-The Bishop) Hudson considered one of the top three in the Communist Party (USA) on trade union matters. Was national secretary of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. (Many party members used to refer to themselves as "church members" and the party was called the "church." Hudson was referred to by them as the "Bishop" and the "Great White Father.")

First showed up around Philadelphia around 1930 and gradually worked his way to the top in party circles. Used to attend the congress in Russia every year from the United States. Wrote many books and leaflets on CP tactics and strategies in trade union matters. Sits in William L. Standard's office when the occasion requires and gives Standard his orders. *Standard follows them.*

Attends all the important trade union conferences and conventions. Was present at the first convention of the NMU daily, in the galleries, and during recesses, gave his instructions to Meers, Myers, Curran and other CP functionaries. Is active in shaping the policies which the "Shapeup" advocates for the longshoremen and was responsible in directing the actions of the CP longshore units on the East Coast at one time. Used to give Curran his orders direct and Curran used to meet with him very often.

Curran knows the "Bishop" very well. It might also be said that the "Bishop" knows Curran well—"too well"—which is perhaps the chief reason why the party watches Curran so closely at all times. Was active recently around Detroit in the factional fighting among the Unions there.

At the CIO convention in Pittsburgh, Hudson was seen daily with all the various CP union officials and was present in the galleries during the sessions of that convention. Does pretty well for himself as a "progressive" or "liberal" and lives very well in the best capitalist fashion.



Commissar (Horseface) Hudson's private mailing address???

FREDERICK N. MYERS

Comrade Frederick N. Myers (Blackie) appeared prior to the Fall strike and later became active on the various committees. Is a self admitted ex-convict, claiming to have done time for labor activities. Reported to have been in Ohio State Prison at the time of the fire there. One of the most vicious of the Party leaders on the waterfront.

Like other rats, however, is very considerate of his own hide. Perfectly willing to "let George do it" if a project appears to be dangerous. Will not admit openly that he is a comrade to the membership but discusses his membership and the Party freely in the meetings of the District Committee and National Council. Tommy Ray's right hand man in the union.

The record will show him always carrying out the Party line within the union. Married to Beth McHenry, Daily Worker Staff Columnist.

HOWARD McKENZIE

Comrade Howard McKenzie was not too greatly interested in the Party during the Spring strike, however, he afterwards became very active for them. Has since the fall strike, been completely comrade. Never went to sea too much, but hung around various brothels in Port Arthur where he is well known.

Made a living after a fashion by gambling and sailed on the few ships listed on his record for the purpose of carrying on his gambling enterprises. Generally he was run off the ship when the crew got wise to him.

The Party was building him up for some reason or another at one time and Curran becoming fearful of his growing popularity tried to ease him out by making him secretary of the CIO committee. This didn't work and Comrade Bjerne Halling now occupies that post. Is tricky and knows how to appeal to the membership's sympathies.

FERDINAND SMITH

Comrade Ferdinand Smith claimed membership in the MWIU. Was elected vice-president of the NMU. History is covered in the subject matter in book.

His main role in the NMU is to recruit new colored seamen Party members. In this capacity has issued NMU books to many colored men who were not seamen to the disadvantage of the bona-fide colored seamen who were thus forced to remain much longer on the beach due to the "built-up" shipping lists. Very active up in Harlem among the colored seamen. Was instrumental in opening up the "Harlem branch" of the NMU at 29 West 115th St., New York City. (University 4-7612).

A. ROBINSON

Albert Robinson (Robbie), born in Belfast, Ireland. Came to the US as a steward on a Cunard liner in or about March, 1935. Was an organizer for the Workers Alliance in 1935 in New York City. Transferred to Cleveland, Ohio and later claimed he was born there.

He has left and reentered the US on phony passports. Was organizer for the Waterfront Section of the Party at the headquarters on Tenth Avenue. When that place burned down, moved to 230 Seventh Ave., with the Section in the same official capacity. Has been to Russia on occasions and made one hurried trip to England. Returned quickly and was working in Detroit with David (Red) Drummond for the CP among the auto workers.

Was a political commissar in the International Brigade in Spain. Returned to US with his political hide intact. Had not been to sea in years but held an Engine Dept. Book in the ISU and later in the NMU.

Very active in waterfront affairs under the direction of Hudson, Ray and Lannon. Jack Flaherty, former NMU engine division delegate, replaced Robinson as the CP waterfront organizer for a time.

———Note. See various Daily Workers for photographs and activities in re-Robinson.———

WM. L. STANDARD

Standard, NMU counsel, helped Tommy Ray to draw up the original draft constitution. Was attorney for the MWIU and was supposed to have paid their rent on several occasions. Takes his orders from Hudson and Ray. During the Spring strike, Standard shared the work with attorneys, Blinken and Glickstein but there seems to have been a little difficulty in this arrangement. Shortly thereafter, the other two were "chased" and Standard became *the* Attorney.

Blinken and Glickstein seemed a little peeved and demanded \$10,000 for their services. They didn't get it.

Standard apparently has done well recently. He moved from his smaller quarters upstairs in the bank building at 291 Broadway to better offices downstairs. He now occupies an entire floor. Travels around the country to various conferences and conventions with the NMU delegations despite the fact that he is continually pleading poverty???? Quick to assure you of his rank and file principles???? Has a signed contract with the NMU guaranteeing him \$12,000 yearly and *expenses*.

Attended banquet given in honor of NMU seamen, "honor graduates," of the Communist Party's Marine Training School. Made speech as did Roy Hudson, Tommy Ray and others. Comrade Ed. Bruen, the "honor graduate," received prize following ballyhoo, consisting of set of books on Marxism and Lenin.

HOYT HADDOCK

Comrade Hoyt Haddock, formerly president of the radio operators' ARTA now the ACA has been actively associated with CP figures for years though carefully denying he is one of them. However, a former party member testified before a Congressional Committee, that he had joined Haddock up in the party several years ago. (This witness also testified

that, in his opinion, Haddock, might have been a labor spy for the oil concern for which he worked). Haddock worked very closely with Comrade E. Phillips (Ed Tabacman) during the ARTA days.

Phillips was chairman of Section 28, Waterfront Section, CP for a time and was a leading figure among the comrades working among the radio operators. The MWIU worked closely with the ARTA during 1932-'35 and afterwards the ARTA worked with the Seamen's Defense Committee and later the District Committees. Haddock was in Baltimore during the MWIU convention in 1934 together with Phillips, Hudson and other communazi small time "biggies."

They had their headquarters then on So. Broadway in a ground floor store next to Bernan's. Meal tickets were issued to some seamen and it was said the money was being received from the "Garland Fund" each week which paid in part for these operations. The Garland Fund was also supposed to provide a radio for the boys so they could listen to the Baer-Carnera heavyweight championship fight like the rest of the bourgeoisie.

Haddock was relieved in the ARTA by Comrade Mervyn Rathborne. He then went to work for the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey as a "labor consultant." In this capacity, he was the man who made it possible for the Standard Oil to break up the NMU on their ships. During the time he worked for this company, he collaborated very closely with comrades Myers, Curran, both Lawrensons, McKenzie, Byne and Tommy Ray.

Only the Comrades negotiated at all times with the oil companies especially the Standard Oil. King, Phillips and other non party officials at no time negotiated or dealt with the oil companies. The record bears this out. Only Party members signed the oil agreements for the NMU, and later only Party members handled the strike against the oil companies for the union.

This strike was deliberately called by the Party on orders from the Profintern in Russia. Part of the plan, was to discredit certain non party officials of the union. The Profintern early in '39 deemed it vitally necessary to have complete control of the American seamen in view of the war they knew was in the immediate offing. They charged certain officials with being labor spies and having set the machinery in motion, they then successfully placed all official positions in the union, in the hands of Party members.

Eso made a very juicy investment by hiring Haddock as its "labor consultant" as resulting events proving him a "laborer worthy of his hire." When he had served his purpose, they let him go. However, you can't keep a "good" actor down. Haddock is now the executive secretary of the American Guild of Variety Artists.

From union official to company man to union official is quite some transition, however???

Quote from N. Y. Daily News, Feb. 10, 1940

To Help AGVA

Hoyt Haddock, former labor consultant with Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, yesterday was named executive secretary of the American Guild of Variety Artists, member union of the Four A's, parent actor and entertainment union.

MERVYN RATHBORNE

Comrade Mervyn Rathborne formerly secretary of the District Council No. 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific. Took over the reins of the ARTA when Haddock became "labor consultant" for the Standard Oil of New Jersey. Has always worked closely with comrades (Hongkong Sam) Willie Bliss, Roy Pyle, Ed Phillips (Tabackman) and others to maintain party control over the radio operators.

Rathborne purged his opposition in the ARTA (ACA) using the same tactics as Curran in the NMU: i.e. labor spies, shipowners, stooges etc. These old communist tactics were once used against John L. Lewis in the struggle for control of the mine workers' union. They charged then they were in possession of photostated checks which would prove that Lewis "had been paid off." Later in explaining their changed position regarding Lewis, they repudiated their former accusations, saying they'd made a mistake.

Rathborne and Tommy Ray attempted to control all the affiliated maritime crafts through

the Party's "New York Maritime Council." They were president and secretary respectively of this booby-trap. When the Engine Division (NMU) led the way and broke it up, they tried desperately to revive it.

E. Trainor (MEBA) was misled into forming a committee for this purpose on the premise that control of the Council "would be wrested from the Party." King and Phillips flatly refused to cooperate with Trainor and the New York Maritime Council died since it depended mainly on the NMU for finances. Rathborne takes his orders from the Party and has been chastised on occasion for hogging publicity.

ROY PYLE

Commissar Roy A. Pyle, big time Party "biggie" on the waterfronts. Shuttles back and forth between the coasts under orders from the Party. Was active on the East Coast during the Spring strike where he was one of the chief "pep talkers" at the meetings. Went to the West Coast following that.

Back on East Coast at present working with Comrade Mervyn Rathborne in the communications and broadcast fields.

EDDIE GORDON

Comrade Eddie Gordon "officially" listed as NMU representative, Havana, Cuba, is a 1936 graduate of the Communist National School. Speaks Spanish fluently and is influential in petty politics in Cuba. Honorary member of the Cuban Federation of Labor and member of various left-wing organizations. Reported carrying confidential sets of credentials from Curran and from the Central Committee of the CP-USA in addition to papers representing him to be advertising representative for the Pilot.

Many members of the union have questioned the logic of maintaining a representative in this port to "look after" thirteen or fourteen ads. Purely from a practical business viewpoint this practice does not make good business sense. Curran and other comrades always are ready with explanations, however, pointing out to the membership why they should foot the bills for Gordon's operations in Havana.

Recently an organization called the Brotherhood of the Sea was set up with headquarters in Havana. According to the Pilot, Curran went to Cuba to assist in setting up the International Maritime Secretariat of this "Brotherhood" following various conferences. According to Curran it was set up and sponsored in Cuba for better relationship between the Latin-American republics and the American republic in line with the President's (Roosevelt) Latin-American relationship program.

In years gone by the comrades had a program for Latin-American countries that was *strikingly similar to this most recent set-up*. In March, 1933 two congresses were held in Montevideo and the MWIU sent a delegate to attend both.

One of these congresses or "plenums" was for the purpose of "working out the problems of unified organization and action among all marine workers of Latin-America;" to also "consider affiliation to the ISH;" to make "jobs grow easier, through close cooperation with the marine workers of South and Central America and the Caribbean Islands, for the MWIU."

It is said today by Curran and the Party that there is no relationship between the program of the new "Brotherhood of the Sea" and the ISH of yesteryear. They point out the CIO as sponsoring this new set-up in line with the New Deal's plans for creating a harmonious working relationship between the Americas. If this is so, why have Curran and the Party designated from among all the union's members, Comrade Eddie Gordon to carry out this work?

History has a strange habit of repeating itself. We wonder if Batista of Cuba will, in time, be to this new Brotherhood of the Sea, what Albert Walters of Germany was to the ISH.

Gordon was arrested in Havana for communist activity but was later released. He is said to be a British citizen and married in Havana.

According to the report of decisions of the National Council, January 1940 meeting the following passed:

11. MOTION that Edward Gordon, now PILOT representative in Havana, be put on the payroll as Patrolman assigned to work on unorganized vessels coming into Havana and also as secondary activity, to engage in work towards establishing the Federation and better Pan American relations and that it be understood that organizational work be major activity of Brother Gordon in Havana, since many unorganized lines (Bull and P & O) enter that port. MOTION CARRIED.

M. HEDLEY STONE

Comrade Murray Stein (M. Hedley Stone) member of MWIU. Active in organizing unemployment councils during TUUL days. Later peddled Doghouse News on the waterfront. Graduate of the workers school in 1928. Active in the Spring strike. Sailed as mess-boy and A.B. Was elected at a meeting (70 So. St.) in Feb. 1937 by a vote of twenty-two men (six men in bad standing) to relieve Myers, sailors' trustee, who had been elected by a coastwise conference of strikers.

Stein was a "Mexican General" during the organizational period of the ISU District Committee until C. DeGress, trustee from Gulf, pointed out to the party, Stein was accomplishing nothing. Stein resigned and Myers was restored to his trusteeship by a vote of twenty-eight men (70 So. St.).

He was the first treasurer of the "rank and file" ISU District Committee (Atlantic). Was Lannon's number one boy on picket dispatching desk during Fall '36-'37 strike. Later became chief clearance clerk. Sent to Lakes as serang for the Party.

Worked with Adrian Duffy, Hays Jones, George Rodway, Ralph Rogers and other comrades doing agitational work. When the CIO Lakes organizing Committee (SOC) was set up, he and others went on that payroll as organizers. Appointed Secretary-Treasurer of the provisional Lakes District, by Roy Hudson, judging from the record, and was approved by Curran. Has functioned in the Lakes until recently.

Newspapers in Lakes area carried headlines about factional struggle within NMU and charged seamen were dominated by Reds. A meeting in Buffalo, Feb. 14, 1938, shows Rodway reading letter from Sam Abbot, Erie County Committee, Communist Party, bringing charges against some NMU members for disrupting and "red-baiting."

Stein brought charges against those members named by Abbot in writing to the Atlantic District Committee. Curran proceeded to the Lakes. Seven new members joined the ranks of the "99 year club" as disrupters, shipowners' stooges, "red-baiters," etc.

The hecklers calling Stone (Stein) a lamp shade salesman, were properly reprimanded and Commissar Stone carried on. Recently he was sent to Washington, in what capacity we haven't yet learned. Perhaps his duty will be to assist the Soviet representative there to sell the communazi pact or the latest Party Line.

HAYS JONES

Comrade Hays Jones, present corresponding editor in the Great Lakes for the Pilot. Oldtime "comrade" and former editor of the Marine Workers Voice and its companion scandal sheets, the Doghouse News and Unity.

Jones went to Russia in 1934 as a "workers delegate." Returned to US and wrote articles for the Marine Workers Voice, praising the "Workers Fatherland" (Soviet Russia). Also wrote pamphlet entitled, "Seamen and Longshoremen under the Red Flag."

Active on the Great Lakes helping Comrade Hedley Stone in carrying out the Party's work. Is very good friend and former shipmate of Curran's. Sailed on Export Line Ship to Black Sea Russian ports with Curran (while acting as courier for CP).

"Author" Hays Jones also "newspaper man" is NMU Pilot Lakes correspondent



IN A SOVIET AMERICA

SEAMEN AND LONGSHOREMEN UNDER THE RED FLAG

by
HAYS
JONES



February, 1933

Long Jail Terms For Dutch Seamen

Sentences totalling thousands of years have been meted out to the crew of the Dutch battleship Zeven Provinciën, who refused to attack fellow workers on strike in an East Indian naval station, and sailed away to support the strikers instead. The ship was captured after aerial bombing, against which she could not defend herself. European and East Indian seamen joined in the mutiny. The case aroused such strong sentiment in Holland's naval forces that a special guard composed of officers was set around the home station, Helder.

Protests are flowing in on the East Indian governor from all parts of the world, as workers groups resent the punishment of the naval strikers.

703-6-17

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Seamen Live Like Human Beings On Soviet Ships

Ed. Note—This is the second of a series by Hays Jones on what he saw as a worker delegate in the Soviet Union.

Taking the Soviet ship out of London adds five days to your stay in the Soviet Union. We were glad we took the Sibir, instead of retarding our trip through Latvia and Germany. The Sibir is one of the ships built in Leningrad for the Leningrad, Hamburg, London trade, a combination passenger-freight vessel.

"Show Boat" the reactionary officials of the British National Union of Seamen call her and her sister ships. Well, if she is a showboat, so are the rest of the Soviet fleet, for I visited a lot of them, and they are all good. Compared to the Berengaria, or the Washington, they are palaces of leisure and luxury, as some men on the Washington can

to fight in the October Revolution the crew lives amidships, two men to a room. The bunks are not double decked. They stand end to end, with two lockers between, for the seamen's clothes. The crew has a bath-room, laundry, and special drying room—not the stid.

Work Clothes Free

As in other Soviet Ships, there are special lockers for work clothes. There are, no clothes lines draped around the stanchions. Work clothes in all Soviet ships, are furnished by the ships. That is quite an item for men who often spend the winter in the Baltic, the White Sea or the Arctic Ocean. Heavy boots, and sheepskin coats aren't cheap anywhere.

On the Sibir, the crew lives aft, in a deck house. The midships house is filled with passengers. But when they decided to enlarge the passenger quarters they put

CHARLIE RUBIN

Comrade Charlie Rubin (Robbin, Rubenstein, Robiner, Robin) oldtime comunazi. Supposedly editor of the old mimeographed ISU Pilot and later the four page printed edition. Resigned from Pilot to make way for Harry (Hynes) Hall. Later was agent in Philadelphia.

Member of constitutional committee at 1st NMU convention where he fought hard to put over original Ray-Standard draft. Attended 2nd convention at New Orleans. Functioned actively for years on all coasts for the Party. Member of the MWIU. Below is the text of a YCL "invitation" to seamen listing him as a "speaker:"

"YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO HEAR CHARLIE ROBBINS, FORMER EDITOR OF THE ISU PILOT, SPEAK ON THE MARITIME STRIKE AND THE FUTURE FOR THE MARITIME WORKERS.

1:00 O'CLOCK, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9th, AT THE SPARTACUS CLUB

269 WEST 25th STREET, CORNER 8th AVE.

AT

AN OPEN MEETING OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE, SEAMEN'S BRANCH. *

** Underlining indicates that YCL also had seamen's branch.*

ADRIAN DUFFY

Comrade Adrian Duffy, an old line comrade. At various times sent to different sections of the country by the Party. Commissar Roy Hudson, in a letter to the Lakes on March 2, 1937, said:

"The comrade we are sending up is Duffy. He has been in the Party for four or five years and is very well equipped to handle the job, is capable and experienced. If given the proper cooperation I am sure that he can be of considerable assistance. He will arrive in Buffalo in 4 or 5 days and probably will notify the other cities as to what time he can be expected there. We are also taking steps to insure that all progressives and party members who will be leaving the coast to sail on the Great Lakes this season, will establish contact as soon as they arrive on the Lakes."

Duffy worked on the Lakes with Comrade Hedley Stone for some time and was then transferred to the Gulf to help Robert Meers, then agent in New Orleans. He is at present acting for the Party in the Gulf as New Orleans agent.

T. LEWIS

Comrade Ted Lewis admitted openly that he was a communist on several occasions. Was defeated in the first NMU elections for the office of Secretary of the Atlantic District Committee but the Party moved him back in again in various positions. Drank a little too much to suit the Party. Went to Havana, Cuba, then re-entered the country in a quota and became a citizen.

Many of the stewards are well aware of the fact that he is a communist but fall for the line that "the Communist Party has never harmed the NMU in any fashion" therefore Party members should not be discriminated against.

(What many NMU members have failed to understand is that all the NMU party members take their orders from the party first, last and always to the exclusion of the NMU).

FRANK JONES

Comrade Frank Jones, at present organizer for the NMU. Came off the SS Santa Paula during the Spring strike. Was just an average country boy from Indiana then, safely married and "perfectly respectable." Liked the "high life" that the Party promised for prospective members. Joined the Party and became a real comrade, that is—as real as the rest of the political piccards, who joined the Party to advance their own personal interests.

Functioned as treasurer of the Seamen's Defense Committee and later as a member of

the sub-committee on finances of the District Committee (Atlantic). No longer a country boy and likes to live well in the best capitalist manner like his fellow comrades.

Like Curran now can speak authoritatively about labor conditions of forty years ago from *his* personal, first-hand knowledge.

JACK LAWRENSON

Comrade Jack Lawrenson, brother of Pat Lawrenson. One of the Party's best speakers. Curran was always greatly jealous of Jack's speaking ability and there was no love lost between the two at any time. Was in charge of the various publicity "buros" in the NMU and was also secretary of the strike strategy committee during the '36-'37 strike. Wm. L. Standard assisted Comrade Lawrenson to obtain his citizenship papers after the strike.

Ran for the position of National Sec'y.-Treas. of the Union in the first NMU election. Extremely egotistical and conscious of the fact that he can speak well. The membership lost confidence in him, however, when they caught him lying and following the Party line.

Fell out with the Party for a little while following the elections and was called a "crack-pot" subsequently by Curran and others. Returned to the "fold," however, and does his daily stint for the Party. *At a joint membership meeting of the NMU on October 26, 1939, boasted that "the work of the old International Seamen's Clubs was going to be restarted."*

During the first negotiations of the NMU contracts, came in one morning with a hang-over, wearing a red tie with a hammer and sickle on it. Wanted to wear it downtown to the meeting with the shipowners. Was prevailed upon to take it off, outside in a taxicab, by Comrades Ted Lewis and F. Smith. See photostat on opposite page.

MOE BYNE

Cigar smoking comrade, generally regarded by those who know him as a cheap skate. Several years ago when he sailed out of Boston to Germany on the Sprague ships, Comrade Byne bought up the slop chest cigarettes and then resold them to his shipmates at a profit.

He first gained "prominence" at the 33rd convention of the ISU held in the winter of '36 at Washington, D. C., when he and Comrade Jack Moutal (Montell) tried to crash the gate as "elected rank and file delegates."

Was elected treasurer of the MFOW following the Spring strike. Always worked hand in glove with the CP and consistently carried out the Party line. Apparently the Party does not regard Comrade Byne's capabilities too highly. Appeared as a "witness" with Comrade Beevo Miller in court against Joe Curran during the latter's divorce proceedings. Referee Cohalan who presided over the case, remarked that there was something "rotten" somewhere and after rebuking Comrade Byne, rejected his testimony. Byne still hopes to achieve "distinction" in the labor field as a "leader."

Sailed during the Spring strike in the Eastern SS Co. Remained on ship through strike until he came ashore to watch the ballots being counted in the Firemen's elections.

GETHYN LYONS

Comrade Lyons, one of the old line comrades. Was in San Pedro on strike and was sent East by the Party to become a member of the Atlantic District Committee for the MC&S. Later replaced Manago. Too lazy to meet the Party requirements for an official.

WM. WEINER

Comrade Wm. Weiner, Cooks and Stewards Division, has not been to sea for the past year and a half. As a Curran-party stooge he has continually functioned to full effect. When the heat was on the Party, Curran would give the floor to this little comrade. Weiner then would ramble on about everything but the issue under discussion, speaking with a terrific Galitzianer dialect.

This act was trickily premeditated on Curran's part for confusionist purposes. Usually some irate member would fall for the bait and heckle comrade Weiner, demanding that he speak English or get away from the "mike." Curran would then lean to the defense of

Joint Membership Meeting

Page 17

October 26, 1939

Curran: Next is the report of the Reorganizing Committee. I want to report that the collection for the Mike Quill election campaign was \$71.03. (applause). The National Reorganizing Committee will make a report.

J. Lawrenson: Brother Chairman and Brothers--Someone complained that the report of the last joint meeting was too long, so we'll make this report as brief as possible (applause). I might add that we were introducing a new campaign and certain issues had to be clarified generally, and if a report was boring then all I can say for that is that I apologize.

Joint Membership Meeting

-18-

October 26, 1939

I wrote to the managing operators of the Standard Oil and the Marine Superintendent of the Secony, and they responded and agreed to meet. We submitted a list of cases which we had on file as affidavits from individual members who on April 17th and at later dates have struck their ships, and at the termination of the strike had applied for reemployment and had been refused or stalled off in one way or another. And I have a list of names. I shan't read it but I am glad to report that the N.M.U. has been successful in practically every case, of this 15 in one and 30 in the other, of reemploying these men back into the two companies (applause)

Now, as far as I'm concerned, and as far as the Union is concerned, this is an important victory. The fact that these companies meet with the Union representatives, even though we technically lost the strike, reinstated men whom they were prepared to blacklist, is evidence that they recognize that the N.M.U. is strong again aboard their ships and that they've got to deal with us even without a contract.

Now as to our chances of winning the Labor Board elections. I am informed by our Union's attorneys, Mr. Lustig and Mr. Standard, that a hearing will be held on November 20th, based on the petition for the company unions asking for an election. Right now I could say that the N.M.U. could win the election of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. In the cases of the Secony and Tidewater Oil, I'm not so certain. But our policy and tactics is to postpone these elections as long as possible, because with every 24 hours, or with the shipment of every new crew, we are increasing our strength on the ships, and given a couple of months more, there isn't any doubt that the N.M.U. could again sweep the Board as we did back in 1937 and again sign a contract with these oil companies which we lost as a result of the strike. That generally is the picture.

On the question of the other work, organizing the S.I.U. ships, literature, etc.,--I want to make it clear here, upon the recommendation of the other officials of the Union, that this program may come in for a great deal of criticism on the part of interested people who would like to retard the steady growth of the N.M.U. The N.M.U. did not finish its work when it signed up just a few companies, or even 80 percent of the shipping companies on this coast. Our work is not done. Our work is not done until every bona fide seaman on the Atlantic, Gulf and Great Lakes is a member of the N.M.U. in good standing, and until the N.M.U. has first rate contracts with every company that operates ships on the Atlantic, Gulf and Great Lakes. (applause).

And we intend now that the record of the organization, that the work begun as far back as 1927 with the old International Seamen's Club, is going to be restarted again until this happy situation is brought about so we can close the industry to

Lawrenson boasts in 1939 CP organization being followed through via NMU

Weiner's democratic right of free speech and castigate the membership for their "attempts to deny this brother his rights as a union brother."

Curran would work himself into a lather of righteous indignation over their Fascist tendencies for heckling Weiner. Generally when the former was through with his part of "the song and dance" he would relinquish the floor to another party speaker. This speaker would precipitate debate on a new motion and following picked party speakers, would keep debate confined to the Party's particular line on the movement and away from issues distasteful to them.

Many members should recall Curran's oft repeated, tearful admonitions to his stooge, Weiner: "All right, Brother, you may as well turn in your book. I see there is no more democracy left in this Union," etc., etc., ad nauseum.

But, tough, brother Weiner could take it. He never turned in his book and always turned up at the next meeting, ready to lay his long abused rights as a "brother union member" upon the sacrificial altar to be trampled upon for the "cause." Weiner was useful in other little ways. If a witness was needed to testify against the "enemy," it was Weiner, front and center.

No matter where the happening, Chicago—Frisco—New York or Timbuctoo, Weiner could cheerfully testify for Curran and the "cause." Apparently Comrade-Brother Weiner got around a lot and unlike the well known three little monkeys, he saw plenty—heard plenty—and could always be depended to "tell plenty."



Charles Keith, former NMU "educational director" holding CP banner—Photo taken on roof of NMU headquarters for May 1, '37 Daily Worker

H. ALEXANDER

Comrade Harry Alexander, member of the MWIU and old time comunazi. Party sends him to various parts of the country. After the East Coast Spring strike, he went to Frisco to help Comrades Walter Stack, Mike Bailey, Joe (Foghorn) Russell and others to disrupt the West Coast firemen.

Came back to the East Coast later and has since been working with Commissar Homer Brooks in the Gulf area. Was known as "Constitution Alex," among the Spring strikers in New York.

We have neither sufficient space nor money to give a complete list of sketches on all the comrades holding official positions in the National Maritime Union therefore we shall show by partially listing a few more of them, *exactly how completely the CP has woven its web around the seamen.*

NEW YORK:

Septimus Rutherford	MC&S, Agent	Reginald Atwell	Engine Div. Patrolman
Conrad Jones	Engine Div. Patrolman	Wm. (Windy) Weidner	Engine Div. Pat.
Robert Meers	Engine Div. Patrolman	Chas. Keith (former Edu. Director-Librarian)	
Phillip (Beevo) Miller	Engine Div. Pat.		

BRANCHES:

David Ramos (fellow traveler)	Balt., Agt.	Neal Hanley (former CP member)	
Jas. Bennett	Baytown, Agent	Marcus Hook, Agent	
J. McIntosh	Beaumont, Agent	J. Drury	Mobile, Agent
W. Morrison	Buffalo, Agent	A. Duffy	New Orleans, Agent
T. McGowan	Boston, Agent	R. Mills	Norfolk, Agent
J. D. Stover	Chicago, Agent	A. Spaulding	Newport News, Agent
Chas. Abar	Cleveland, Agent	J. Murray	Philadelphia, Agent
Wm. Curott	Corpus Christi, Agent	J. Montal	Portland, Agent
J. Parker	Detroit, Agent	Geo. Kuck	Port Arthur, Agent
E. Strand	Duluth, Agent	J. Rogan	San Juan, P. R., Agent
K. K. Owen	Galveston, Agent	J. Russell	San Francisco, Agent
J. (Blackie) Merrell	Houston, Agent	E. Williams	Seattle, Agent
P. Glass	Istrouma, Agent	R. Fair	San Pedro, Agent
J. (Scottie) Edwards	Jacksonville, Agent	P. M. Whalen	Tampa, Agent
		F. Siren	St. Louis (IBD)

This is only a small part of the CP network ashore. That the units at sea are carrying on the work aboard ship, *is evidenced daily* by the tone of the resolutions, motions and meetings that emanate from them. On all hands, it is very evident that the Party line is being carried out faithfully. The NMU that led the pack in demanding drastic steps be taken against Franco and his "Fascist and Nazi allies" has suddenly stopped "beating the drums." Then, they favored war measures if necessary, to aid the Loyalists of Spain! Committees to "Aid Spanish Democracy" were set up in the various union halls. Finances were collected and seamen were urged and helped to go over to Spain to fight for "Democracy." Curran at the first NMU convention stated that the seamen, fighting in Spain, were "doing their union duty" (the record shows).

Strangely, now the NMU vigorously opposed the United States' *giving any aid to the Finns in their gallant struggle against the Soviet dictatorship*. The NMU has suddenly become one of the leading forces for pacifist measures. In no way, must the US act in any manner, tending to involve the nation in the present "Imperialist" war! Anyone professing to think otherwise is a war monger!

The National Maritime Union of America has changed its line in accordance with the Communist Party line under orders from the comunazi dictatorship. If any seaman doubts that, let him but examine the record which shows clearly how completely the Communist Party manipulators the union to serve the purposes of that party. Stalin and Hitler were discovered sleeping in the same bed! Like the Greeks, the comrades had a name for it too!

The same seamen who were egged on to denounce Hitler and his Nazis, were recently

egged on to accept the Communazi "pact" as a "good thing" by their "union leaders" and the Pilot which defended that "pact."

EXHIBITS

ISU PROVISIONAL STRIKE COMMITTEE, as of MAY 21, 1936

King, Ray, Robins, Kane, Lannon, Gernack, Goodall, Emerson, Walker, Waity, Harker, Stein, Wald, White, Lauman, Jackson, Burke, Lemmon, Mullins, Crowley, Russell, Renaud, Jones, McCuiston, Ecker, Ashton, Mulderig, Curran, Codyre, Cullinen, Fitzsimmons, Water-son, Innes, Bliss, Perry, Lewis, Gurtov, Keane, Darrigan, Boston, Martini, Hennessey, Olaja, Smith, Payne, Alvezio, Rubin, Staats, Lundy, Oakly, Zickmantel, Gannon, Pyle, Craig, Besse-lyebre, Kennedy, Reynolds, Mercier, Robinson, Abdulla, Mapalain, Marca, Kullman, Steglitz, Hawkins.

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Comosed of heads of departments, Chairman of Strike and three men elected to assist by Provisional Strike Committee

CURRAN	Chairman, STRIKE COMMITTEE
WALKER	CONTACT
CODYRE	PUBLICITY
MULDERIG	INVESTIGATION
RENAUD	TRANSPORTATION
GERMACK	FOOD
GOODALL	HOUSING
GURTOV	BROOKLYN BRANCH
MARCA and HENNESSEY	SOUTH STREET
MAPALAIN	HOBOKEN
HAWKINS	LEGAL DEFENSE
RAY }	
JONES }	
STEGLITZ }	

Elected by Provisional Committee to assist Co-ordinating Committee

SEAMEN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE:

CURRAN, HENNESSEY, MARCA	DECK DEPARTMENT
KING, WHALEN, (MOON) MULLINS	ENGINE DEPARTMENT
EMERSON, F. JONES, GOODALL	MC&S DEPARTMENT

This elected committee co-oped the following members to assist in the work of the Sea-men's Defense Committee: Walker, Kane, Burke, H. Alexander, P. Innes, Keane, Vargis, Waity, Steglitz, Robinson (Arta).

STRIKE STRATEGY COMMITTEE:—FALL WINTER STRIKE

J. CURRAN, AL LANNON, GLENN SKOGMAN	DECK DEPARTMENT
J. LAWRENSON, P. KEENAN, F. MUDERIG	ENGINE DEPARTMENT
F. SMITH, F. JONES, C. J. MCCARTHY	MC&S DEPARTMENT

STRIKING EAST COAST SEAMEN'S' STRIKE COMMITTEE, SAN PEDRO, CALIF:
As of December 23, 1936.

P. J. INNES CHAIRMAN (DELEGATE TO JOINT CENTRAL STRIKE COM. & COAST POLICY COM.)

F. STAATS VICE-CHAIRMAN	HANLEY FOOD
VAN ETEN SECRETARY	FILOSA FIRST AID
MARION REGISTRATION	GRIBBLE PUBLICITY
BACHMAN CONTACT	STEPKINS BANKING
FOWLER PICKET	O'CONNOR HOUSING
MORGANSTEIN PATROL	
WELCH, KENNEDY, MIRDICH	

DELEGATES TO JOINT CENTRAL STRIKE COMMITTEE

As of January 17, 1937

Same as above except Ferrell as Secretary and Earle as Publicity.

OFFICIAL
Union Standing In
EASTERN & GULF SAILORS' ASSOCIATION

Secretary E. & G. S. Assn.

To New York Branch

For Joseph Curran No. 5499

Where Born New York

Color of Eyes Brown

Color of Hair Brown

Name of Relative

When and where Paid Last Dues

When and where Joined N. Y.
1935

January

February

March

April

May Joined May, 1935

June

July

August

Sept 3 Del. N. Y. Sept. 16-35

Oct.

Nov.

Dec. 3 Del. N. Y. Dec. 23-25

When March 1, 1904

Height 6 ft. 2 in.

Build Medium

..... N. Y. Jan. 1, 1936—3 delegate
May, 1935.
1936

January 3 Del. N. Y. Jan. 1-36

February

March EXPELLED

April

May

June

July

August

Sept. P. J. PRYOR

Oct.

Nov.

Dec.

Compare this fake unionists record with a large part of his sea-going record. Incidentally, we wish to inform anyone interested in the fact that this information has been compiled by a group of members composed

chiefly of I. S. U. members who were tricked into leaving their vessels by this hireling of the communist party and his associates and also by some who stood staunchly by the bona-fide regular officials of the I. S. U. of A.

N. Y. U. S. COMMISSIONERS' RECORD OF CURRAN

Birthplace

Naturalized

Age

Height

Color

Hair

Next of Kin

New York

Parents' Papers 66289

27 N. Y. July 10, 1924

6 ft. 2 in.

White

Brown

Father—A. Cristobin

Name of Vessel	Date Shipped	Rating	Article No.
California	Feb. 12-31	Q. M.	461
California	Mar. 26-31	A. B.	883
California	May 7-31	A. B.	1339
California	June 24-31	A. B.	1832
California	Aug. 5-31	Bo'sun	3058
Examoor	Feb. 24-32	Bo'sun	454
Excelsior	June 9-32	Bo'sun	1477
City of N. Y.	Apr. 30-34	A. B.	996
Santa Clara	Aug. 18-34	Bo'sun	2034
Santa Clara	Sept. 28-34	Bo'sun	2426
Santa Clara	Nov. 10-34	Bo'sun	2795
Virginia	Dec. 29-34	Bo'sun	3206
California	Nov. 14-35	A. B.	2842
California	Dec. 28-35	A. B.	3184
California	Feb. 8-36	A. B.	303

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1940

Year Fight for Jobs

of struggle particularly in behalf of the unemployed

When March 8, 1939, toll d around there were from 13 to 14 "on jobs in the United States—Communist Party was

ISRAEL SMILGER, 1939 leader of the unemployed and present state secretary of the Communist Party of New York. Smilger is here shown addressing a meeting preparatory

Daily marked time

"ON THE BEACH"

But Communists everywhere are rallying the hungry people under the slogan "Drive Slaves—Fight" demanding unemployment insurance and organizing the jobless into Unemployed Councils.

I had been working on the fruit boats, sailing between Boston and Toluca, Honduras, and was a ship delegate on the S. S. San Blas for the Marine Workers Industrial League, former of the Marine Workers Industrial Union of the Trade Union Unity League.

Unemployment struck the marine industry as it did all others with full force. I was on the beach in New York. The waterfront was crowded with jobless seamen.

I remember one day when Harry Hynes, secretary of the League, who later died fighting for Republican Spain, a ship's captain, a former IWW who was on the beach, and myself marched a hundred seamen from a South St. meeting to our headquarters and signed them up in the Unemployed Councils.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party had issued a call for nationwide unemployment demonstrations to be held on March 6. The red scare was raised everywhere in the press, and especially in New York. Matthew Woll issued a blast asserting that the demonstrations were being financed by \$2,000,000 in Russian gold.

In New York it was decided that the demonstration would be held at historic Union Sq. and that the workers could march down Broadway to City Hall and present demands to Mayor James J. Walker.

But Police Commissioner George L. Bellows denied a permit for the march. The previous day of red re-

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1939

Waterfront Sections Win First Honors in Drive

Manhattan, Brooklyn Seamen, Dockers and Other Members Complete Fund Quotas; Former Goes \$500 Over

Brooklyn's waterfront section yesterday became the first in the borough to complete its quota in the Communist Party fund drive. Over \$2,000 was raised by seamen, longshoremen, teamsters and shipyard workers, many of whom are unemployed. Since Manhattan's waterfront territory also captured first honors, a tradition is born. The Manhattan group, under the leadership of Al Lannon, raised \$3,000 in less than 100 days and added another \$500 to its original quota.

Ocean air has nothing to do with it, according to Al Stone, Brooklyn organizer. "It is a tribute to the Communist Party position on the imperialist war by workers who are in a position to know what steps are being taken to draw America into the mess."

Lannon added that "maritime workers are rallying around the Party as never before."

Money was raised on the Brooklyn docks in the words of Al Stone,

est sums, Stone explained this on the ground that unemployed comrades, unable to contribute from their own funds, actively raised money among friends and acquaintances.

White collar workers also did excellent work, raising most of their quotas by contributions of a day's and a week's wages. To an Italian member of the Red Hook branch and to his wife, who is not a Party member, goes the distinction of having done outstanding work. Although neither is employed, together they raised nearly \$50.

DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1940

SEAMAN SENDS HALF-MONTH'S PAY TO WATERFRONT SECTION

The Waterfront Section is out in front again with 32 new members recruited since March 1.

The sea-going Communists are out after the prize of being hosts to the National convention of the Party on May 30.

Al Lannon, section organizer, got a letter the other day from Jack Summers, a seaman who wrote it at sea and posted it at the first port he reached. It gives you an idea of why the section is leading the way in the drive.

Jack sent half a month's wages to Lannon for the work of the section. Incidentally he told Lannon he hoped to return to Viborg soon. The letter was written before the historic events of the peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Finland. It speaks for itself:

"Dear Al,"

"Just received the news that the Red Army has occupied Viborg and I'm so damned glad that I'm enclosing half a month's wages to this great movement of ours. You know, Al, I've been in Viborg a number of times and

I know damn well that the Finnish people never supported that phony Mannerheim Socialism—the People's Government will do wonders for those people.

PEOPLE'S VICTORY

"It tickles me to think that the Mannerheim officers and big shots will not stroll around the famous 'Round Tower' any more—the people will use it. Next time I go to Viborg instead of seeing the bloated rich sitting in the big Restaurants Park on the main street listening to the army band I'll see the workers eating decent grub and listening to a Red Army band.

"Yes, and it's time 'Funkys' and Monkey's where girls of 16 and up had to hang around and sell themselves for a decent meal are wiped out. Only the People's government could do that and give these girls an economic security.

"Oh, yes, just outside Viborg there is an old baron's estate, a beautiful place with sunken gardens—it would be a swell place as

a rest home for workers and peasants.

I hope the Red Army cleans up the whole country. It's all rotten as a result of the phony ruling class there. The people sleep on wooden boards. I never saw a spring mattress in any workers' home. Flies and bedbugs are the rule. I'm sure that the people of Finland are happy over the fact that the Red Army is driving their oppressors.

"Another thing—I guess you've seen pictures sent out by the Finnish government of the fine buildings they have in Finland. Well, there are so few they take pictures of one building from different angles. I know this because I have seen both the buildings and the pictures. They never show pictures of the filthy shacks the people live in.

"Well, this will all be over soon, Al, and it's great to be even a very tiny part of this great movement that is bringing freedom to mankind. Sorry I could not send more money. Keep things going and remember me to the boys."

Daily Worker March 8, 1940 article by Harry Raymond, former MWIU delegate United Fruit ships, confirms text of this volume—"Worker" honors Al Lannon's successful CP money drive on waterfront—Occupation of Viborg by Red Army pleases "American" seaman so much he sends half month's pay to CP

SMITH TRIAL LETTERS SHOW INCONSISTENCIES

Following is a copy of letter sent by Harry Bridges to the Smith Trial Committee in re the Horace Luckenbach. Bridges stated that after the strike MWIU clearances were accepted by the ILA in preference to all others because the longshormen knew that "in the majority of cases MWIU clearance cards were authentic."

Walter J. Stack, writing as a former member of the National Council and Seattle branch secretary (MWIU) stated: "The records of the MWIU were all destroyed during the police raids on all the halls on the Coast during that week.***"

26. LETTER FROM W. J. STACK

58 Commercial St.,
San Francisco, Calif.
August 15, 1938

Dear Brother Smith:

Your letter of August 12th, with reference to the status of the crew of the Horace Luckenbach who were anchored in the stream until after the 1934 strike, was received by me today.

The policy of the MWIU regarding these ships sailing inter-coastal at that time was to bring them to San Francisco and get off here.

Unfortunately in the case of the above mentioned vessel she was anchored out in the stream from July 18th until August 2nd, 1934, thus making it impossible to get off. Those seamen who were placed in such positions during the '34 conflict have been cleared, as obviously they could not get off. The records of the MWIU were all destroyed during the police raids on all the halls on the coast during that week.

As a member of the former National Council and Seattle Branch Secretary of the MWIU in '34 I will gladly verify the above facts and swear to the clear record of the seamen involved in that voyage of the Horace Luckenbach.

The facts above stated regarding the Horace Luckenbach are correct and I'll vouch for them.

Fraternally yours,
Walter J. Stack.

Subscribed and sworn to before me
this 20th day of August, 1938
Anne F. Hasty, Notary Public
In and for the City and County of
San Francisco, State of California
My commission expires October 8, 1939

10. LETTER FROM INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND
WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

August 16, 1938

Mr. F. Smith, Vice-President,
National Maritime Union,
126 Eleventh Avenue,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In reply to your letter of August 12th requesting the circumstances surrounding and clearing of the Horace Luckenbach in the 1934 strike. I wish to say that the Horace Luckenbach was only one of many vessels which arrived on the West Coast during the 1934 strike manned by crew members who had great difficulty in getting ashore from the ship's anchorage.

During the major part of the 1934 strike in San Francisco, the Joint Marine Strike

Committee, of which I was Chairman, operated a launch in the bay and attempted to board the ships in order to contact the crews. In a great number of cases we were unsuccessful although we knew that the crew would have been only too glad to get ashore provided we could have reached them. In some cases, of course, the reverse was true.

The general system followed after the strike ended on July 31, 1934, was to go aboard the ships as they pulled into the dock (after being anchored in the bay for long periods of time) and contact the crews and use our best judgment as to whether they had deliberately stayed aboard the vessels while knowing what the situation was, or whether they had been prevented from taking any action by the master or the agents.

In most cases the crews were given an opportunity to join the union, providing their status was sufficiently clear. At all times we had the cooperation of the Marine Workers' Industrial Union—dating back from May 10th to the day following the start of the strike, until the strike ended and afterwards. The Marine Workers' Industrial Union, which at that time had more men organized on the West Coast ships than any other marine union, was the first union to strike in sympathy and support of the longshoremen and it had official observers seated on the longshore Rank and File Strike Committee.

In connection with the MWIU on May 10th, the day following the beginning of the strike, the MWIU presented to the ILA Strike Committee in San Francisco (which was, incidentally, the only strike committee that existed for the first two or three weeks of the strike) a list of ships upon which they had members. As I recall, there was some 32 ships all told. Some of these ships were organized 100%, some better than 50%, and in some cases less than 50%, running down to just two or three members in the uncensed personnel.

By official action of the Longshore Strike Committee, the MWIU was requested to pull the men off the ships they had entirely organized or where a fair majority was organized. On these ships that were less than half organized or only had one or two members, they were requested to have these members remain aboard in an attempt to organize the rest of the crew in order that the ships could be pulled as near 100% as possible. It should be borne in mind that at the time the ISU unions were advising all seamen to stay aboard the ships—both organized and unorganized—the total of their membership was less than 1000 all told—taking in everything.

The seamen on the steamships were nearly all off before the strike took place due to the actions of the shipowners in laying up the steamships a week or more prior to May 9th. All coasting steamship operations were suspended by the employers some days before the ISU unions declared a strike which automatically tied up these ships where practically no organization existed.

Although we operated a launch and a speed-boat on the bay to take workers off the ships, one of those nights some shots were fired at a scab launch by persons unknown while the launch was taking scabs out to the ships laying in the bay. As a result of this, every time our picket boat or launch ventured away from the dock we were generally surrounded by police boats and on more than one occasion our crew arrested. The point is, we were unable to contact many ships unless we were officially called by the Captain and the gangway lowered for us. Due to this, we were unable to effect the removal of many crews.

Anyone who was officially connected with the 1934 strike in San Francisco, and I may say the big majority of the present officials in the seamen's union today were definitely not even heard of, knows that after the strike ended the big majority of the seamen on the ships were signed up in the union, and only those who we know had consciously scabbed were attempted to be barred, but in many cases were allowed to join the union.

In regard to the Horace Luckenbach. It is significant to note that in the records of tie-ups here after the strike ended July 31, 1934, there is no record of the Horace Luckenbach being struck by the longshoremen in order to force the crew to sign up or to force any scabs off this particular ship. I can find no record of this being done.

After the strike ended and the process of organization really begun, MWIU strike clearance cards were accepted by the ILA even in preference to ISU clearance cards because we knew, better than anyone else, that many men who had actually and deliberately stayed

aboard the ships got phoney clearance cards from the Scharrenberg officials, who were in office at that time. This procedure was followed because the longshoremen knew, as being the only organized group and having the only organized committees from the beginning of the strike, that in the majority of cases MWIU clearance cards were authentic.

Finally, I would point out that due to many circumstances allowances were made for crews of ships that moved during the strike in a tremendous number of cases; for example, every ship that moved in and out of San Francisco during the entire strike was piloted by pilot boats with 100% SUP union crews aboard who remained aboard the entire length of the strike despite all our efforts to get them off. These men were given strike clearances. Practically all licensed officers, except a very small minority, remained aboard the ships during the strike. All those ships that left port the first two or three weeks of the strike with the crews under the orders of the ISU officials to remain aboard and not participate in the longshore strike—all these crews were later given clearances. These facts are well known to anyone who actively and officially participated in the 1934 strike. Another example: the ex-patrolman of the SUP, Whitey Probert, shipped on a Dollar Line boat out of New York in the middle of the strike, came around to San Francisco and got off. Yet he not only received a strike clearance but got to be an officer in the SUP.

The above is all the information I have on hand at present without going into all the records, however, more can be gathered if necessary. Trusting this might help clear up any confusion that exists regarding your status, I am,

H. R. Bridges, President.

Smith also introduced the following letter from Roy Hudson, member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA into the record to support his defense during his trial.

28. LETTER TO ALEX SKURVIN

Sept. 21, 1938

Mr. Alex Skurvin
126 Eleventh Ave.
New York City.

Dear Sir and Brother:

In reply to your communication, signed by yourself and four members of the National Maritime Union, requesting information concerning the policy pursued by the Marine Workers' Industrial Union in connection with the 1934 maritime strike insofar as the East and Gulf were concerned.

Naturally, I am only too glad to furnish you with any information that I might have on this matter, as former national secretary of the Marine Workers Industrial Union. The following is this information based on my own personal knowledge and the records:

First, as everyone knows, the Marine Workers Industrial Union exerted all of its efforts to try and make this strike effective both on the Pacific Coast, where the then members of the Marine Workers Industrial Union played a leading role in drawing the seamen into the struggle, as well as the activities we attempted to initiate on the East and Gulf in behalf of the strike.

In regards to the East and Gulf, no general strike call was ever issued because of the great degree of disorganization that prevailed amongst the seamen, and there therefore was no organizational basis for such an appeal. Under such circumstances, the general policy was to, through agitational, educational and organizational work, create the *sentiment* and organization for drawing the Eastern and Gulf seamen into the struggle.

While attempting to accomplish this task amongst all seamen, naturally the main concentration point was, on the intercoastal ships to do everything possible to make the strike effective on these ships.

This general policy was proven correct, in view of the several attempts that were made to broaden out the Pacific strike and extend it in the East and Gulf. This was done on two occasions: once, when the crew of the "Texan," an American-Hawaiian ship, came out on

strike in New York, where, on the basis of this strike, a call was issued calling upon the seamen to follow the example of the "Texan" and to spread it to other companies. However, this did not meet with a response, because the seamen were not clear, there was not sufficient organization, and because of the position taken by the ISU officials.

The other occasion was when there was a direct appeal from the West Coast, namely, San Pedro, where a meeting of the striking seamen there, mainly, ISU members, issued an appeal to both the ISU and the MWIU in the East and Gulf to spread the strike and make it a national strike.

The MWIU attempted to comply with this appeal, but because of the still weak organization, but especially because of the refusal of the ISU leaders to cooperate in putting this appeal into effect, the efforts were not successful. I mention the two above examples in order to clearly establish not only what the policy was, but the reasons for it.

While the slogan was to support the West Coast, nevertheless, we considered the main task was to create the sentiment and organization to make this possible. At no time was a general strike call issued, and, confronted with the inability to spread the strike upon this coast, generally speaking, our main strategy was to create sufficient organization on all intercoastal ships to ensure their being effectively tied up on their arrival on the West Coast.

We were compelled to follow this policy, as I said above, mainly because of the weak organization existing generally amongst the seamen at that time. For instance, the only port that was very strongly organized was that of Baltimore and on such intercoastal lines as the Calmar Line running out of this port.

The MWIU had a strong organization; yet, I think without exception, while all of these ships were struck by MWIU crews, they all struck on the West Coast and none were tied up in the East.

On these intercoastal ships where there was either a small number of union men, or a fairly large number, our policy was to advise them to organize and to strike upon the West Coast. This is true practically with the exception of the "Texan," as, after the "Texan" strike, when the seamen witnessed the inability to spread the strike to other ships in the East and Gulf, they felt that they could be more successful in taking the ship back to the Coast.

Naturally, in order to carry through such a line, we often had to encourage ship's delegates and active union men to get aboard in the Coastal ships and carry on organizational work.

I hope that the above will answer satisfactorily the questions that you and your brothers have asked.

This information can be verified by official statements of the Union that are contained in the issues of the "Marine Workers Voice."

With best wishes to you and all other seamen in your efforts to maintain and strengthen your powerful rank and file Union, I am

Fraternally yours,
Roy Hudson

UOPWA loc. 16.

(FINIS)

First printing March 26, 1940

ERRATA:

Page 39: word "American" in footnote should read "Abraham".

" 36: End of third paragraph. Strike out words "(See pictures Muldering counting money on platform)." Picture at present unobtainable.

" 69: "INESS" should be spelt "INNES".

" 73: End of fourth paragraph should read "independent set up".

" 75: Caption: "Meyers" should be "Myers".

" 80: Fifth line of twelfth paragraph. Third last word should be "tired" instead of "tried".

" 93: Second last line, ninth paragraph. "McCuiston" should be "McCuiston".

" 96: Last line of text, "Commisar" should be "Commissar" before Roy Hudson.